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HENRY III IN MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

A good and exhaustive account of Montgomery and its Castle remains yet to be written.¹ The old Castle, built by Roger de Montgomery in the time of William Rufus, had been destroyed by its Welsh neighbours. King John died October 19, 1216, and had been succeeded by his son Henry III, at that time barely ten years old. The relations between the young King and his powerful brother-in-law, Prince Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, were those of open hostility. In the year 1221, the Welshmen having besieged the Castle of Buellt, then held by Reginald de Bruse, the King came with an army to the Marches, and having raised the siege, came as far as Montgomery, and built a new castle there.² This was the King's first visit to Montgomeryshire. He reached Montgomery on the 30th of September, and remained there about a week. He was there on the 7th of October, when Prince Llewelyn, who had been excommunicated, was absolved, and some kind of a peace was patched up between them. The building of the Castle was proceeded with vigorously nevertheless, the King remitting large sums of money, and supplying large quantities of materials for its construction, and weapons for its defence. It was completed in Sep-

¹ See, however, two interesting papers by the Rev. Geo. Sandford, M.A., and G. T. Clark, Esq., in *Mont. Coll.*, vol. x.

² Powel's *Hist. of Cambria*, p. 280.

tember 1225, and some time afterwards the King granted it to his great justiciary, Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent, with two hundred marks annually, and a greater salary in case of war.¹ Hubert's haughty and imperious rule caused some powerful barons to conspire against the King and him.² Prince Llewelyn also had gained some important advantages over the English forces, and the small garrison at Montgomery, constantly harassed and annoyed by the Welshmen, were at length driven back into the Castle, and closely besieged within its walls. On hearing of this the young King in 1228 (being the twelfth year of his reign) decided upon again placing himself at the head of an expedition into Montgomeryshire, with the double object of relieving the beleaguered Castle, and of securing its garrison from future annoyance. This he accordingly did towards the close of the summer; but how he was compelled speedily to return home, with some loss of honour, is matter of history. The following is the account given by Powel:³—"The yeere following [1228] king Henrie came with a great armie to Wales, as farre as Ceri, and incamped there; and vpon the other side Prince Llewelyn called to him all the power of Wales, and incamped not farre off, and there were diuerse great skirmishes, and chieflie vpon one daie the most part of both armies was in the field, and a great number slaine of the kings men. At which time William de Bruse, sonne to Reynald, was taken prisoner, who offered for his ransome the countrie of Buelht, and a great summe of monie beside: then there was a peace concluded betweene the King and the Prince, wherevpon the Prince came to the King, and did honour him, but not as his king and lord, and euerie partie returned home."

He adds: "This historie is somewhat otherwise laid downe by Matthew Paris, which I haue thus translated out of the same author:—About the same time those

¹ Dugdale's *Baron.*, i, 695.

² Powel's *Hist. of Cambria*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*

souldiers which laie in garrison in the castell of Mountgomery went out with some of their neighbours to amend a certeine passage in the high waie, leading through a great wood thereby, where the Welshmen were woont to rob and slaie such as trauelled that waie: and comming to the place, with their axes and other weapons began to fell the trees and to cut downe the bushes, whereby the waie might be enlarged. Which thing, when the Welshmen vnderstood, they came with a great power, and setting upon their enimies compelled them to take the castell for their defense, (certeine being slaine on both sides), and then casting a trench about the same, laid siege vnto it. This being quickelie certified vnto Hubert de Burgh, Chiefe Justice of England, to whom a little before the same castell and honor was given: the king himselfe, with conuenient speed comming, raised the siege, and when his whole armie came to him (for few souldiours came with him thither), he went to the said wood, which was verie large, being fise miles in length, and by reason of the thicke growth of the same, verie hard to be stocked: howbeit the King caused the same, with great diligence and trauell, to be asserted, and consumed with fire. Then leading his armie further into the countrie, he came to an abbeie of white moonks called Cridia, being a refuge for the Welshmen to flie vnto, which he caused to be burnt to ashes; where Hubert de Burgh (to whome the place seemed verie fit for fortification), hauing the assent of the King, caused a castell to be builded. But or euer the worke was finished, manie were slaine on both sides; and William de Bruse, a noble warriour, who went out to make provision for the armie, was taken by the Welshmen, and cast in prison: and diuers other went out for the like purpose, whereof one being knighted a few daies before, seing some of his felowes in danger, and like to be distressed, rushed boldlie into the midst of his enimies, killing manie about him, who in the end, with manie other of the Kings men, was there

slaine. Manie also of the King's chiefe soldiours being confederate with Prince Llewelyn, did verie faintlie defend his cause with whom they came thither. Wherevpon the King wanting necessarie provision, and perceiving the double dealing of some of his owne men, was constrained to conclude a dishonorable peace with the Welshmen, giuing his assent that the castell which with so great expenses of men and monie was now almost finished, should be rased at his owne charges, taking of Prince Llewelyn three thousand pounds towards the same. The peace being thus confirmed, both parties departed homeward. So the King of England, after that he had bestowed three moneths in the building of the said castell, and disbursed an infinite summe of monie in vaine, leaving William de Bruse, one of his nobles, in the Prince's prison, returned home with great staine of his honor. The name also which Hubert, the Chiefe Justice, had giuen to the castell at the beginning of the building, calling it Huberts Folie, did now moue manie to laugh at the thing, who seeing that costlie and sumptuous building to be made equall with the ground, said that Hubert was a prophet, and more than a prophet."

The Calendar of the Close Rolls of this year, published by the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records,¹ throws some additional light upon these events, and furnishes several interesting particulars relating to the King's progress and his stay in Montgomeryshire. A royal visit to Shropshire and the borders of Wales had evidently been contemplated for some months, for we find on the 10th of January orders given that ten casks of wine out of thirty, which the King ordered to be carried to Gloucester, were to be delivered to Henry de Aldithel, Sheriff of Salop and Stafford,² to be carried to Shrewsbury against the King's coming to those parts. But it was near the end of the summer before the King commenced his journey. He was at Windsor

¹ See 27th Ann. Report, p. 48 et seq.

² List of Sheriffs, 31st Ann. Report, p. 262 et seq.

on the 30th of July ; and from these records we can pretty clearly trace afterwards his movements from day to day.

The King probably left Windsor on Monday, July the 31st. On the 1st and 2nd of August he was at Reading, where he borrowed a cask of wine of one Gilbert Ruffus, to repay which directions are given to the custos of the King's wines at Southampton to cause the said Gilbert to have one cask of Gascon wine. The next day he is at Newbury, on the 4th at Hamstead, on the 6th and 7th at Marlborough, on the 8th at Cricklade, on the 10th at Gloucester, and from the 13th to the 21st at Hereford. On the 15th, during the King's stay at Hereford, a prorogation of truces is made between Prince Llewelyn and Fulk, son of Warin, and Thomas Corbet ; also a safe conduct is given to the Prince's wife, who, it will be remembered, was Henry's sister, in coming to Shrewsbury to speak with the King. On the 18th directions are given, that of the twenty casks of wine ordered to be bought at Bristol, fifteen are to be delivered to Henry de Aldithel to be carried to Salop, and five are to be deposited in the cellars of the Bishop of Worcester, for the King's use. Henry de Aldithel is commanded to send four of the fifteen casks above named to Montgomery, and deposit ten in the Castle of Salop for the King's use ; and the bailiffs of Worcester are commanded to receive the five casks above named, and cause them to be deposited in the cellars of the Bishop for the King's use. On the 19th the Sheriffs of London are ordered to provide William Hordel with a good cart, at the King's cost, to carry the King's harness to him. On the 21st orders are sent to the Sheriff of Salop to cause assizes of *Mort d'Ancestor*, etc., to come before the King at Salop.

Leaving Hereford, the King proceeds to Worcester, where we find him on the 24th and part of the 25th. On the latter date he also arrives at Kidderminster. Thence he proceeds into Shropshire ; and on the 28th we find him issuing directions from Bridgnorth to

Hugh de Loges, to assist Wido the huntsman, whom the King sends to take deer in Cannock Forest for his use. The following day, Tuesday the 29th, he arrives at Shrewsbury. After staying there two or three days the King proceeds on his journey, and on Sunday the 3rd of September we find him at Montgomery, the journey from Windsor having occupied nearly five weeks' time.

Henry's arrival, historians tell us, relieved the beleaguered Castle; but the soldiers he had brought with him were too few to enable him to assume the offensive, for his brother-in-law, Prince Llewelyn, and his confederates were strongly posted on the Kerry Hills, and other places in the neighbourhood, with an army superior in numbers, and having the additional advantage of being thoroughly acquainted with the surrounding wilds and woods. He therefore at once issues commands to William Earl Marescal, the Earl of Gloucester, William de Braosa, Roger de Clifford, Gilbert de Lasey, Walter de Bello Campo (Sheriff of Worcester),¹ Hervey de Stafford, Walter de Dunstanville, Thomas Maudit, William de Cantilupo (late Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester),¹ John de Balun, Hugh de Gurnay, Walter de Baskerville, and Nicholas de Verdun, to come to him with horses and arms, prepared to go in the King's service. To provision this army, the Sheriffs of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Stafford, are commanded to cause proclamation to be made that no market be held, but that the merchants of victuals come to Salop to follow the King. Orders are sent also to the Constable of the Tower of London to deliver all the shields in the Tower to the Sheriffs of London, to be sent to the King at Montgomery. On Tuesday the 5th further commands are sent to the Sheriffs of Gloucester and Worcester, each to send to the King twenty good carpenters, and a similar requisition for ten carpenters is issued to the Sheriff of Hereford.

Meanwhile the communications of the English army

¹ See List of Sheriffs, *ibid.*

are much harassed by the Welsh, and on Friday the 8th the King addresses a letter to Prince Llewelyn, complaining of merchants coming to him with victuals having been robbed and wounded. The next day orders are sent to Richard Pincun and Roger de Stopham to deliver the venison taken by them in the Forest of Fecham to the bailiffs of Fecham, who are commanded to send it on to Montgomery. One Thomas de Langel is also directed to cause venison taken in Wichwood Forest to be salted and sent to Montgomery.

During the next eight or nine days the King is probably too much engaged in skirmishing with the Welsh to attend to other matters; but on Monday the 18th the Sheriff of Hereford is commanded to send the money due from the county to the Exchequer to the King at Montgomery. A similar command is given to the bailiffs of Hereford concerning the farm of the town; and the bailiffs of Gloucester, Chilteham, Dymnoc, Winchcomb, Aure, and Cirencester town and hundred, are commanded to send the farm of their towns and hundred to the King at Montgomery. Henry de Hauvill is directed to receive, and safely keep, the falcons sent by the King of Norway to the King. On the same date Bertram de Crioil and Alan Poinant, custodians of the archbishopric of Canterbury, are also commanded to reserve £100 out of the issues of the archbishopric, to be delivered to Geoffrey de Craucumbe (Sheriff of Oxford),¹ John Blundus, and Robert de Shar-delowe, the King's messengers about to go to the court of Rome, and to send the residue of the said issues to the King at Salop. On the 20th letters of credence are given to these messengers, addressed to the Cardinal of St. Sabina and others. On the same date an order is made that William de Bissopestun, one of the justices of novel disseisin in the county of Warwick, being in the army of Kerry, is not to be put in default for his absence. On the 21st Stephen de Lucy is commanded to take to Worcester all the money in his

¹ See List of Sheriffs, *ibid.*

custody, of the issues of the bishopric of Durham, and also to carry with him all the arrows which he has caused to be made. On the 22nd he empowers John Fitzalan to hold a fair of four days' duration at Album Monasterium (Oswestry).¹

On Sunday the 24th of September we find the King at Shrewsbury, paying a flying visit to that town, in order probably the better to organise his expedition into the Vale of Kerry against Prince Llewelyn. From Shrewsbury he issues orders, on that date, to the Sheriffs of Worcester, Gloucester, Stafford, and Salop, not to permit any market to be holden in their bailiwicks, but to enjoin merchants with their victuals to follow the King in his expedition towards the Vale of Kerry. They are also to send, for every two hides of their respective counties, one man to the King at Kerry, with a good hatchet and victuals for fifteen days. A similar command with regard to markets is sent to the Sheriff of Hereford; and instead of a hatchet, the Sheriff of Warwick is commanded, for every two hides of his county, to send a man "*cum una trubla² vel una bescha*", with a trowel or a spade to the King, and with victuals for fifteen days. On the 26th and 27th the King's writs are dated from the Vale of Kerry.

Various documents, but of no local interest, are dated

¹ Eyton's *Ant. of Shrop.*, x, 328.

² In the Calendar the word *trubla* is translated "net". The correctness of this translation is, however, open to discussion. Dugange, *sub voce* "trubla", has "truble" (Gall.) "*est instrumentum piscatorium*". See also *trullia*. And "trublator" is explained as one "*qui trubla piscatur*". In the same Glossary is found *truella*, *trulla* = "*ferreum latum quo parietes linuntur*", which would exactly describe the use of a modern trowel. *Trula*, *trulla*, are also defined as "*instrumentum piscatorium*"; so that it would seem that both *trubla* and *trulla* had occasionally the same signification. I would therefore prefer *trowel* as the correct rendering of the word here. Adopting this translation, the men from the different counties were to be sent to Kerry; some with hatchets or axes (*securibus*) and spades (*beschis*), probably for stocking and "asserting" the wood referred to by the historian; while others were to go with trowels (*trublis*) to assist in building Hubert's castle.

at Kerry itself between the 28th of September and the 4th of October. It is evident from this that the King did not remain there long enough to see much progress made with the building of Hubert's castle and the other operations in the Vale of Kerry. He saw and experienced enough, however, to dishearten and irritate him. Leaving Hubert, probably, behind him to conduct the operations against Llewelyn and his rebellious confederates, he made the best of his way homewards. The Calendar does not disclose the King's subsequent movements, except that on the 13th of October he had arrived again at Westminster, where for some weeks his time was much taken up in granting pardons of scutages, tallage, etc. The scutage of Kerry was two marks for every knight's fee throughout the kingdom.¹ In the Pipe Rolls for this year, the Sheriff charges for carriage of the King's wine from Brug (Bridgnorth) to Montgomery; and it is stated that he had paid £24 into the Royal Wardrobe at Montgomery, also that the burgesses of Brug had similarly paid £3 : 1 : 8 into the Wardrobe at Kerry.²

It may not be out of place here to say a few words with reference to the supposed sites of the long lost monastery of Cridia and of Hubert's Folly, both of which have hitherto puzzled archæologists. An interesting paper in the sixth volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections* gives a *resumé* of the various conjectures made by different writers. Some of them, such as that made by Mr. Bingley and a writer in the *Cambrian Register*, suggesting Cymmer, near Dolgelley, as the site of Cridia, may be dismissed at once as too improbable to be seriously entertained. Goranddu and other places in the vale of the Severn have also been named. It has been suggested that the word *Cridia* is but a corrupt form of the generic term *Crefydd-dy*, a religious house; and I am inclined to adopt this view. Carte, the historian, maintained that its site was in the Vale of Kerry; and after the account above given of

¹ Eyton, xi, p. 136.

² Ibid.

King Henry's expedition against and sojourn in that valley, there can be, I think, no longer any doubt upon the subject. One of the nineteen townships of Kerry parish is called *Cefnymynach* (the monk's ridge), a name from which it may be inferred that at one time a religious house of some sort stood there. In all probability this was near Black Hall, about a mile due south from Kerry village, and about seven miles from Montgomery. It is very probable that in Henry III's time the whole intervening country was densely wooded, particularly the eastern slopes of the high ridge called *Cefnycoed*.

Following the brook Miheli, about half a mile further, in a south-westerly direction, we come to another place bearing a suggestive name, *Cwm-y-dalfa* (the glen of capture). The local tradition, I believe, is that a noted robber was taken there; but we should not be far wrong, I think, in concluding that this was the very place where that ill-fated, "noble warrior", William de Bruce, was taken prisoner. Bearing in mind that he was one of the most powerful and favoured of the King's barons, and offered the country of Buellt for his ransom, the capture of so great a personage was, doubtless, deemed to be an event of sufficient importance to give a name to the locality where it occurred. W. de Braosa was hanged in April 1230, under circumstances to which tradition has lent a romantic interest.

The parish of Kerry fairly bristles with remains of ancient camps, entrenchments, and fortifications; so much so, indeed, as to derive its name, as some say, from this fact. Close to the farmstead of Middle Cwm-y-dalfa, however, there rises to a height of 300 feet or more a peculiarly bold and precipitous cliff which answers admirably to the historian's description,—“a place verie fit for fortification”. It is called “Penycastell”, and there is still a faint local tradition that a wooden castle was partly built upon the top, but pulled down before it was finished. Its north-eastern and western sides are very precipitous, and covered with a thick growth of underwood, which forms an almost

impenetrable thicket,—altogether well deserving its name of “Cwm uffernol” (the Avernian chasm). The southern side is a gentle slope, and bears traces of a deep ditch or moat. In the south-eastern corner there is also a deep hole, now partly filled up,—the site, possibly, of a well. At present but few stones are left; but I am told that many cartloads have been removed even within the last twenty years. Hubert’s castle, which the historian says was three months in building, was in all probability, wherever situate, mainly composed of wood. It may be added that there are clear traces of an old road, long disused, between Black Hall and Penycastell.

Having suggested Cefnymynach as the site of Cridia, and Cwmydalfa as the scene of William de Bruse’s capture, I venture further to suggest Penycastell, from its contiguity to both, as well as from its strong position, as the site of Hubert’s Folly, where De Burgh, with the aid of carpenters and artificers gathered from five counties, and with great expense, attempted to build a “costly and sumptuous” castle, but was forced to abandon and destroy the unfinished building six hundred and fifty years ago.

R. WILLIAMS.

Newtown.

THE CELTIC ELEMENT OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

(Continued from p. 221.)

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

It is pleasant to turn from this bitter strife about an unimportant circumstance, or method of reckoning, to instances of pious labours among these British Christians. They have been reproached with not attempting the conversion of the Saxons; but it may be questioned whether the Saxons were willing to be taught by the subject race. One body of northern monastics, in the seventh century, attempted to bring the Southern Saxons to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, but without success. Their leader was Dicul, who, with five or six brothers, established a small monastery at Bosanham (Bosham, near Chichester), and "served Our Lord", says Bede, "in poverty and humility; but", he adds, "none of the natives cared either to follow their course of life, or hear their preaching".¹ One illustrious convert, however, was made by others of the British Church. "The British peasantry", says Collier, "whose circumstances were too low to keep up the face of a Church, yet many of them were constant to their religion, and endeavoured the conversion of the Saxons. Thus Offa, of the royal Saxon blood, is said to have turned Christian at the instructions of some pious Britons."²

They laboured, too, in scholarly or artistic labours. The *Rushworth Gloss*, now in the Bodleian Library at

¹ Bede, iv, 13.

² *Eccles. Hist.*, ii, 63, quoted in *Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wills and Dorset*, p. 12, by the Rev. Preb. Jones, vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

Oxford, but formerly the property of John Rushworth, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, was written in the ninth or tenth century. It contains the four Gospels in Latin, written in a large hand, and over each line of the Latin is a translation in Saxon. At the end of the volume is this inscription: "The min bruche, gibidde fore Owun the thas boc gloesede, Farmen thæm preoste æt Hara-wuda" (he that of mine useth or profiteth, pray for Owen that glossed this book, and Farmen the priest at Harewood). After this inscription follow these words in Saxon characters: "Macregol depinxit hoc euangelium quicumque legerit et intellexerit istam narrationem oret pro Macreguil scriptori" (Macregol illuminated this book: whoso has read and understood this record, let him pray for Macregol the writer).¹ Owen and Macregol were certainly of Celtic blood; but the scene of their labours was in Yorkshire. If the illuminator was from Ireland, where his art was then practised with singular skill, yet Owen, who glossed the Latin into Saxon, was probably a descendant of one of those Britons who united with the conquering race, and became, as the Welsh Triads inform us, "as Saxons".

Mr. Morris states that a friend of his had a Latin MS. of the four Gospels in vellum, "written in a most beautiful hand in the ancient British letter, now commonly called the Saxon letter." An inscription at the end states that "Mæielbrith, son of Macdurnan, expounds this text worthily by the Triune Deity", and that Athelstan gave it for ever to the metropolitan church of Canterbury. Mr. Morris adds, "I take the book to have belonged originally to the Britains" (Britons), "not only on account of the character,—the same letters being to be seen on our ancient tombstones in Wales, erected before the Saxons had the use of letters,—but also because Mæielbrith Macdurn was also a Britain, as plainly appears by his name; and you may see in some copies of Gildas Nennius that the Cambro-

¹ Preface to Wiclif's New Testament, by Baber, p. 60.

British kings used, on the first coming of the Saxons, the appellation of Mac instead of Ab and Mab, though now entirely disused in Wales, and kept only in North Britain and Ireland."¹ The inscription does not appear to have been made by Mæielbrith himself, but by one who knew that some marginal references which are contained in the book for the sake of explanation, were made by him. Mr. Morris describes this valuable MS. in a letter to Mr. Pegge the well known antiquary, and the latter, in reply, says that he did not know that the letters of the Saxons and Britons were the same, and that he had some doubts on the subject; but that he did not think the Saxons could write when they came into Britain.

However this may be, it is certain that the Britons could write before this time, and with much artistic skill. There is a curious proof of this fact in a record of an event which Matthew Paris, in his *Lives of the Abbots of St. Alban's*, says occurred during the abbacy of the ninth Abbot, Eadmar, who presided over the Abbey in the latter part of the tenth century. He says that "while the diggers of this Abbot were exploring the walls and secret places of the land, they dug up the foundations of a certain ancient great palace; and while they were wondering at the vestiges of so many buildings, they found in a hollow depository,² with some smaller books and rolls, an unknown volume of a certain codex, which was but little destroyed by so long a

¹ *Cambrian Register*, 1795, p. 361. The inscription is as follows: "Mæielbrithūs . Macdurnani . istū . textu . per . triquadrū . Do . digne . dogmatizat . Astaethelstanus . Anglo . Sæxna . Rex . et . Rector . Dorveneni . Metropoli . dat . pæwv." For the form of the letters (capitals) see the *Cambrian Register*. Professor Pearson affirms that there are other traces of British residents in Kent. "In 741 A.D., Dunwalh, evidently of British extraction, is butler to King Ethelbert II of Kent." (*Early and Middle Ages of England*, p. 55.)

² A fragment of the Psalter was found in a square hole specially made for it, in one of the great piers of Great Barford Church, when some repairs were made about thirty years ago. (*Guardian newspaper*, Sept. 25, 1872.)

delay of time; of which neither the letters nor the language was known by any one that was then found, on account of their antiquity; yet it was of beautiful form, and of clear lettering ("manifestæ litteræ"); of which the inscriptions ("epigrammata") and titles were splendidly adorned ("redimiti") with golden letters. The boards were of oak, and the bindings of silk, and these retained, in great part, their firmness and beauty. "Concerning the knowledge of which book, after search had been diligently made far and wide, they found at length a priest (now a decrepid old man) well skilled in learning, Unwonam by name, who, imbued with the languages and literature of many tongues ('idiomatum'), read distinctly and openly the writings of the forenamed book. Similarly he read without hesitation, and explained clearly, what things were in the codices which were found in the same aumbry and depository; for the letters were such as were wont to be written in the time when citizens inhabited Worlamcester, and the language was that of the ancient Britons, which they then used. Some things were in Latin, but of these there was no need (of an interpreter); but in the first book, namely the larger, he found written a History of St. Alban, the protomartyr of the English.... In other books, however, found everywhere, the aforesaid reader discovered invocations and rites of idolaters, citizens of Worlamcester, in which he found they invoked and worshipped especially Phœbus, the god of the sun, which may be supposed by the history of St. Alban, if a diligent reader understands it; but in the second place Mercury (called Woden in English), from whom the fourth day of the week is named,—the god, indeed, of merchants." He then adds that from the nearness of the city to London, being only distant a day's journey (*diæta*), the citizens had been nearly all merchants.

He goes on to say that "those books, therefore, being thrown away and burnt, in which the comments of the Devil were contained, this book alone, in which

the history of St. Alban was contained, was placed most carefully in the treasury; and when the aforesaid presbyter had read that which was written in the ancient English idiom, in which he was skilled, the Abbot Eadmer caused it to be faithfully and diligently expounded by the more prudent brethren in the general assembly, and more fully to be taught in public by preaching."

He then relates that when this history had been translated into Latin, strange to say, the primitive and original copy was suddenly and irrecoverably reduced to dust. Probably the exposure to the air, after being for so many centuries immured in a wall-receptacle, caused it to crumble into pieces. The narrative, however, is given with so much minuteness of detail that we cannot doubt that Matthew Paris wrote it from a trustworthy and probably contemporaneous record by one who had seen the book at the time when it was found.

The record goes on to say that Eadmer found in the ruins of St. Alban's tiles and columns, jars and amphoræ, with glass vessels containing the ashes of the dead. He found also half-buried temples, altars overthrown, idols (which he destroyed), and many kinds of coined money. It is evident from this statement that the city of Verulam was in great part inhabited by pagans at a period of time long subsequent to the martyrdom of St. Alban in the beginning of the fourth century, for the heathen books had been hidden at a time when the city was attacked and destroyed, probably by the Saxons. There were, however, British Christians; and that there were some wealthy men in their ranks appears from the fact that so costly a MS., with silken bindings and letters of gold, had been prepared for their use. It must have been written, too, by one of their own race, for it is not likely that the Roman colonists, never very prone to adopt or write in a foreign tongue, should have sufficiently understood the ancient British language to write a record in it.

Unwonam,¹ the very aged priest who understood this language, was probably the last relic of the British-speaking population, as Dorothy Pentreath was of the Cornish in the last century. If so, it is singular that the British language should have lingered there so long, even to the tenth century. But it held its ground in other parts to a much later date. In Galloway we are told by Innes that the people were known by the name of Welsh in the twelfth century. The Scottish historian, Buchanan, tells us that the Welsh of Galloway used their own language in his time. (*Ea magna ex parte patrio sermone adhuc utitur.*)²

In the north of England the Britons retained their nationality, and probably their language, to a great extent, as late as the Norman conquest.³ If they do not appear often in this distinct form in the pages of history, it must be remembered that they were a conquered race, and to such races the writing of history rarely belongs. Their position may be compared to strata lying beneath a later deposit, which only crop out here and there; but those points that gain the sur-

¹ I cannot explain this name, Unwonam. One of Kemble's charters is signed by "Unwona, episcopus." Onwean appears in the Bodmin manumissions as one who was liberated by Bishop Wulfsie. (Thorpe, *Diplom. Angl.*, p. 629.)

² Innes, i, 38; Buchanan, ii, 21. See an *Essay towards a History of the English Tongue*, by John Free, D.D., 1749.

³ I am glad that I can avail myself here of the authority of so distinguished a writer as Sir Francis Palgrave: "From the Ribble in Lancashire, or thereabouts, up to the Clyde, there existed a dense population, composed of Britons, who preserved their national language and customs, agreeing in all respects with the Welsh of the present day; so that even in the tenth century the ancient Britons still inhabited the greater part of the western coast of the island, however much they had been compelled to yield to the political supremacy of the Saxon invaders. . . . Many dependencies of the Cumbrian kingdom extended into modern Yorkshire, and Leeds was the frontier town between the Britons and the Angles; but the former were always giving way, and their territory was broken and intersected by English settlements." The Britons, he adds, gradually melted into the surrounding population, yet that this process was not wholly completed until a comparatively recent period. (*Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, p. 185.)

face indicate, indeed, the existence of that which lies below, but do not give the measure of its extent. There are, however, not a few indications of the British race in the north of England during the Anglo-Saxon rule. Bede tells us that some of this race recovered their liberty in 684: "From that time the hopes and strength of the English crown began to waver and retrograde, for the Picts recovered their own lands, which had been held by the English and the Scots that were in Britain; and some of the Britons their liberty, which they have enjoyed for about forty-six years." They enjoyed it for many years after his time. It was not until the year 945 that the *regnum Cumbrense* was finally subdued. At that time, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* tells us, "King Edmund ravaged all Cumberland, and granted it all to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker as well by sea as by land." The Rev. C. H. Hartshorne, in a paper on the Saxon Earls of Northumbria, says: "The kingdom of Cumberland undoubtedly retained, to a late period, the remains of its original Celtic population. The same was probably the case with Lancashire. We know, from a very early charter to the church of Durham, that the population of Cartmel, in this district, was British; and it is probably to this cause that we are to attribute the fact that Lancashire is not treated as shire-land in *Domesday*; the southern part, "inter Ribam et Mersam" being appended to the return of Cheshire; the northern, Amounderness, to that of Yorkshire. We read of the cruelty of the Earls of Northumbria to the Britons. These were probably the Britons of Lancashire, over whom they claimed jurisdiction..... Tosti, Earl of Northumberland, had an immense estate in Lancashire..... Eadulf, too, whose niece became the wife of Earl Siward, is remembered for his cruelty to the Britons."

Mr. Hartshorne probably refers to a grant mentioned by Camden: "Egfrid gave to St. Cuthbert the land called Carthmel, and all the *Britons* in it."¹

¹ *Britannia*, iii, 380.

From the cruelties of Tosti we are not surprised to find that an insurrection followed, by which he was outlawed, and his household men were slain; or that when Morkar, son of Elgar, was chosen to be Earl, his brother Edwin came to meet him with the men who were in his earldom, "and also many *Britons* came with him."¹

The term lingered as long in the south. Eadmund fought a battle with the Danes, in which the *Britanni* were present. "Is this word", asks Mr. Freeman, "used because Eadmund's army came mainly from that part of England where the Welsh blood still lingered?" This part included Somerset, Wilts, and Dorset. "The word *pen* (head)", he adds, "is a specimen of the Celtic names which still survive in the local nomenclature of this Teutonised, but not purely Teutonic, district."² The Britons appear in their separate nationality even in the time of the last of the Saxon kings, Edward the Confessor. In the lament on his death, inserted in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,³ it is said—

"Here Edward King, of Angles lord,
Sent his steadfast soul to Christ.
He in the world here dwelt awhile
In royal majesty, mighty in council.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s. a. 1065.

² *History of the Norman Conquest*, i, 422, 423. It was in this district that Alfred collected his army when he assailed and conquered the Danes. "After this, at Easter, King Alfred with a small band constructed a fortress at Athelney; and from this fortress, with that part of the men of Somerset which was nearest to it, from time to time they fought against the army (of the Danes)." (*A. S. Chron.*, s. a. 878.) It was, then, by a Celtic population that the Danes were conquered. Their descent was then well known. In Alfred's will the five south-western counties are termed *Wealh Cynn*. (Pearson, p. 57.) See also Lappenberg (*England under the A. S. Kings*, i, 120), who asserts that "a large British population" continued there for centuries, distinctly marked. Sir F. Palgrave says (*Hist. of Anglo-Saxons*, p. 110) that Alfred sallied forth and took his position at Egbert's Stone, on the verge of the Forest of Selwood, which by the Welsh or British inhabitants of Somerset, who perhaps constituted the majority of the population, was called by the name of the Great Forest, or Coitmawr.

³ *A. S. Chron.*, Bohn's ed., p. 438.

And he, a prosperous time, ruler of heroes,
Distinguished, governed Welsh and Scots,
And *Britons* also; the son of Ethelred,
Angles and Saxons, chieftains bold."

The fact is, that the long contest between the Celt and the Teuton in England continued with varying fortune until the eleventh century; but the conditions of the contest were not always the same. After the seventh century it was carried on mainly between the Teutonic tribes and the race of the Cymry, to which the northern Britons belonged. Their line of demarcation in the west has never been clearly defined; but it extended beyond the Severn, and included in part the counties of Hereford, Monmouth, Somerset, and some portions of Shropshire and Cheshire.¹ It was along this line, and by the race of the Cymry, that the war was waged with unflinching courage to the last. Here the wreck of the battle lay the thickest; here the old Celtic traditions and usages were maintained most completely;² here the Celtic race refused to coalesce, as in the east and the middle of England, with the Saxon invaders, and chose rather to become subject by force

¹ Monmouthshire was considered a part of Wales to a comparatively late period. In the county of Hereford a large district was claimed as having been part of the original diocese of Llandaff in the year 1128, and Pope Honorius allowed the claim. (*Lib. Land.*, p. 574.) Many of its customs were Celtic, even in the last century. The district of Clun, in Shropshire, was long considered a part of Wales.

² A writer in the *Athenæum* (June 1, 1867) says that "the peasantry of Lancashire, especially in the Fylde, light fires three times a year on great cairns. The beal-fires of Ireland are lit at the summer solstice, and in Wales and Scotland similar customs prevail. Stone altars were, a few years since, to be found in the villages of western England; and on these votive fires were lighted on especial occasions, as they were on 'Teanlay Night' or the Fast (qu. Feast) of All Souls, in the Fylde district of Lancashire." The writer supposes that these customs were probably derived from the Romans, "possibly from a much older people". He does not seem to be aware that the Celts occupied the land before the Romans, or to know that "teanlay" (properly *teinne-la* or *tan-la*=fire-day) is not a Roman but a Celtic word.

than to unite with the conqueror. Hence the difference in the numbers of bondmen in the several provinces, as recorded in *Domesday*, which Lappenberg considers to be so "remarkable". In the old East Anglia the proportion is not more than one in twenty; in the counties of Lincoln, Huntingdon, and York, there are none; and in Nottinghamshire the proportion is only one to two hundred and fifteen. In the county of Kent it is a tenth part of the population; but they are most numerous, says Lappenberg, where the British population maintained itself the longest, viz., "in the old land of the Hwiccas, more especially in Gloucestershire, where the proportion existed of one slave to every third freeman; and in Cornwall, Devon, and Staffordshire, where they were as one to five freemen. The further we remove from the Welsh border, the smaller is the proportion of the slave to the free."¹ In Lancashire, when finally subdued by the Saxons and Danes, a large portion of the Celtic population, at least in the north-west, was held in bondage. The Anglo-Saxon laws show, however, that the Loegrians were not only freemen, for the most part, but that they were holders of land, both as proprietors and tenants, and might rise to the dignity of a thane.

The meaning of all this is, that the east, including the eastern parts of Yorkshire and Durham, offered little resistance to the Teuton invaders, who had, indeed, long settled on their coasts before Hengist and Horsa landed in Kent; that in the midland counties there was an extensive blending of the two races by a voluntary union on the part of many of the Celtic inhabitants, and by intermarriages; but that a war *à outrance* was carried on along the west from Cumberland to Somersetshire, which, after a contest extending over more than four centuries, resulted in the subjection, but not the destruction, of the Celtic race. It would have probably been renewed by revolts of the conquered people, assisted by their related neighbours,

¹ ii, p. 321.

the Cymry of Wales, if the Norman conquest had not subdued equally the Celt and the Teuton. It was by this overwhelming force, though our historians have failed to perceive this important consequence fully, that Celt, Saxon, Angle, and Dane, were all crushed into one subjected mass, out of which at length arose the English people; marked still by many of the traits of each separate nationality, but differing from all in the collective form and feature of its now distinct and peculiar national life.

On looking back, after this survey of the historical evidence, we see that when the Saxon invaders first took possession of Kent, the eastern parts and the ancient Loegria were inhabited by different races, varying too much from each other to allow a perfect union or amalgamation into one people. On the east we find Celtic tribes allied in origin to the Gaelic, and one or more offshoots from the great Teutonic stock, who had probably settled in the land three centuries before Hengist and Horsa were invited by Vortigern to support him by their military skill and valour. In the large towns there was a Romanised element consisting of those who were in part the offspring of mixed marriages, and the descendants of Roman legionaries and colonists. This part of the population was much smaller than the pure Celtic; but it would have much influence by its superior civilisation and the traditionary respect that would attach to it as belonging to what had been for centuries the ruling race. The largest element was, doubtless, that of the Loegrians,—a Celtic race more nearly allied to the Cymry or Welsh than the native tribes in the eastern counties, but enfeebled by long subjection to the Roman power, by the large levies which the Emperor Maximus carried into Gaul in support of his assumption of the imperial dignity, by famine and pestilence, and by the savage inroads of the Scots and Picts.

Over this ill united population the Cymric traditions assert that their race held, by choice or conquest, a kind of superior authority, or at least the right to take the

lead in military affairs. It is evident, however, that between them and the Loegrians there was little real union; and hence we may the more readily accept the tradition which the *Triads* have preserved, that many of the latter united with the invaders, and became "as Saxons";¹ and that this was one important cause of the success of the Saxons, for we are told that through this treachery "the Cymry lost their land", or, as another triad expresses it, "their privileges and their crown"; "and if it had not been for such treasons, the Saxons could not have gained the island from the Cymry." The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives some support to this assertion.

The contest was carried on, with varying success, between the Britons and the Welsh on the one side, and the Angles and Saxons on the other; the Teutonic tribes in the east, and the Romanised part, coalescing generally with the latter. But even in the early stages of the conflict the lead appears to have been taken by Arthur and other Cymric chiefs. It was afterwards carried on against the Welsh alone. Under this term were included (for they were of the same race) the people of the northern kingdom of Cumbria, and of the west and south-west counties, as well as the inhabitants of Wales. These maintained the conflict, often driving back their Saxon invaders, even to the tenth century; nor were they fully subdued, or their nationality destroyed, when, a century later, the Norman conquest bent both Celt and Teuton alike under the yoke of the Conqueror.

It is strange that, in spite of all this evidence, any historian should venture to say that the Celtic race or races in England were either destroyed or banished by the Saxon invaders. This is a modern fiction; for

¹ The Saxons, too, became in part as Celts. It is a significant fact that in a battle fought at Bedford about 752, between Ethelbald King of Mercia and Cuthred King of Wessex, the banner of the latter was a golden dragon, the old British ensign. (Warton, *H. E. P.*, i, xv.)

the mediæval historians do not generally assert more than that the conquered race was made subject to the English (*famulabantur Anglis*). As Professor Pearson has justly said, it is an idea that "has absolutely no foundation in history". It is contradicted by every kind of evidence that can be brought to bear upon the subject. It is improbable, in the highest degree, from the very circumstances in which the invaders were placed by their conquest. Their numbers cannot have been, at each descent on these coasts, exceedingly great, for they came necessarily in ships which, according to our modern estimate of size, could not have been large. Even we in the nineteenth century, with all our command of wealth and mechanical skill, do not find it an easy task to send twenty or thirty thousand men to other countries. How much more difficult must such a task have been in the fifth century. Nor could these invaders have brought wives with them, or the implements needful for the arts of life. They became, too, the ruling class; and the Saxon thane, as in a later time the Norman baron, was devoted to the arts of war, to the chase, and the various offices of government, but the labours of the husbandman and the artisan would devolve on the conquered race.

This modern fiction contradicts the evidence of the Anglo-Saxon laws and charters as well as the traditions of the Welsh, which are distinct and unvarying. It is opposed by the many instances we find in which the ancient race, though overwhelmed in Loegria at least, yet "crops out", so to speak, in many different ways, appearing distinctly as priests, soldiers, and artists, as landowners, tenants, and bondmen. We are told by French historians that the people of France are, three parts at least, of Celtic blood, and yet from the fifth to the eleventh centuries we find more numerous and more distinct references to the Celtic race in England than can be found in France. This appears to arise from two facts: (1.) The conquest here was not so rapid and complete as that which the

Franks effected, and hence there was more time for the continued reappearance of the Celtic race in different parts of the land. (2.) In the proper Loegria there was a readier admixture of the two races by intermarriages, and hence Celtic names, or nicknames, and Celtic usages appear more frequently and more openly.

It is contradicted, too, by the large number of Celtic words in the English language, especially in our dialects. This fact will be stoutly contested; but it is not the less certain that it is a large element, and that it enables us to determine many questions concerning the Celtic race here, that must otherwise have remained in obscurity. As the English colony that settled in the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, during the twelfth century, retained until a late period its separate nationality and language, and when finally absorbed into the surrounding Celtic mass, left many words in the country speech that are of Teutonic origin, so the Celtic races in England maintained in various degrees their separate nationality; and when they all finally blended with the other races in the land, so as to form one people, they left in the language many tokens of their continuance on the soil; and proved, too, by this evidence how large is this element of the English race.

We have two other kinds of evidence, which, if not historic, are not less important or conclusive. These are:—(1.) The *traditions* of the land. I cannot here enter into the question whether some of our legal usages and institutions are of Celtic origin or not. Sir F. Palgrave says they are, and Professor Stubbs affirms that this statement is not true. But King Arthur and the knights of the Round Table, Sir Cawline, Sir Lancelot, Sir Gawaine, Glasgerion, and many other heroes or bards, were the subjects of many a song, as often heard in the hut of the labourer as in the hall of the noble. They were part of the national heritage. A veil of mystery and fable gathered over these heroes of a conquered race and a lost nationality; but if the

race to which they belonged had been either extirpated or banished, all such memories must have died out with them. The mediæval bards would have sung only of Teutonic heroes. Arthur and his knights would have excited as little interest here as in Holland or Sleswick. The very love of such romantic tales, the ready response to whatever was connected with the supernatural, the strange, or the beautiful, bore evidence that the eager listeners were not wholly of the same race as that which dwelt by the shores of the North Sea or on the banks of the Eider. Even if some of these tales or songs came, by a reflux wave, from France through Brittany, these would affect chiefly the Norman barons and their dependents. They would be conveyed by a language that was never spoken by the mass of the people, and must have perished when this class ceased to be distinct from the rest, if there had not been a separate inheritance of such traditions, and a national feeling by which they were received and held through the force of a real interest and affection.¹

(2.) There is the abiding evidence of the English people in their distinct national character. An Englishman differs materially from both the Hollander and the Dane, and the *differentiæ* by which the national character is distinguished from either are Celtic. He has the solidity of one race, its stubborn courage, its perseverance and industry; but he has more ardour, more quick and subtle play of feeling and imagination, more enterprise, than it possesses. He unites impetuosity with strength, for the ardour of the fiery temperament of the Celtic race is moderated by reflection and self-control. He has a large, compact nature, but it is penetrated and quickened by a livelier vitality than that of the Teuton. His courage is both enduring and

¹ A writer called Eremita Britannus, who flourished about the year 720, wrote, besides other works, a book in an unknown language (British?), entitled "Sanctum Graal, de rege Arthuro et rebus gestis ejus", and also "De Mensa rotunda et strenuis equitibus." (Warton, *H. Engl. Poet.*, i, x, note.)

impetuous, his enterprise is active and persevering, his love of liberty is tempered by an equal regard for law; and it is by the union of these separate but not hostile elements that the English race differs from the German or the French, and has made itself, by colonies and conquests, by arts and commerce and free institutions, the leading race of the world.¹

(To be continued.)

THE "PENTARCHIA."

At the end of Pennant's *Whiteford and Holywell* is an account of the Tribes of North Wales, including that of Tudor Trevor. In it, at p. 314, is a reference to, and some Latin verses from, a poem styled *Pentarchia*, by Powell of Ednope. I have often wondered whether the poem was ever printed, and where Pennant found it. In looking over a volume of miscellaneous MSS. at Brogyntyn, upon the 10th of this present month, I found a manuscript copy of this poem, the only copy I ever saw or heard of, excepting that which Pennant refers to. The Brogyntyn MS. is in a hand of the seventeenth century, or perhaps late in the sixteenth, as are the introductions to each stanza; but *they* are in a different and somewhat later hand. As Pennant was nearly related to the Owens of Porkington, or Brogyntyn, he may have taken his extracts from the MS. there; but in it the stanzas are not styled *Pentarchia*, nor are they said to be by Powell. The following is a *literal* copy of the Brogyntyn MS.

WM. W. E. WYNNE.

12 Oct. 1872.

"PYMTHYG LLWYTH GWYNEDD.

1. "*Llwyth Isdulas yn y Rhos. 650 yn amser brenin Cadwallon ap Cadfan ap Iago.*

"Braint hir ap Nefudd hardd ap Geraint ap Garanawc gloyw-ddur ap Rhychwyn farfoc or ddol wen yn y Rhos ef A ddue

¹ Page 212, l. 29, for "yet partly" read "yet elsewhere".

aur Ar Cwpl Sab: Tri Rhosyn Arian¹ — hynaf o Lwythau gwynedd.

"Isdulæ Dominus magnatum maximus Heros
Arma Briennus habet cognomine Longus in auro
Nempe rosas flexum tres albas insuper atrum :
Saxonis incursus retudit Regisque Britanni,
Cadvallon fuit ille Sororius (*sic*) atque Satelles
Exonia pendam captivum abduxit et urbem
Restituit captam pulsus Saxonibus inde
Northumbriq' magnum pellitum regis in aula
Sustulit obstantem Britonem conscendere classem
Misit in auxilium quam Rex Armoricus hospes."

2. "*Uwyth Isaled yn Rhifoniog Marchwithion Amser Rodri Molwynog* 720.

"Marchwithion ap Tangwol ap llud ap llew ap lleiniod Angel
ap Pasgen ap Vrien Reged — ef a dduc g: llew Ar: Saliant.

"Is Aledi Baro Marchithion (*sic*)² primævus ab illo
Saltantem rubro juvenem gerit orbe Leonem
Tempore Rodrici Molwynog floruit ille
huic genus Isaledi generosa prosapia manet."

3. "*Uwyth uch gurfai yn arfon* 843 *Amser Rodri Mawr*.

"Celmin drod tu ap Carod ap Gwirad ap Elidur ap Sanddef
ap Alewum ap Tegid ap gwair ap dwywe ap llowarch hen — bore
quarterly first Arg. ar. (*sic*) Eagle with two neckes dispayd (*sic*)
Sabl. Secondly three ragged staves Sabl: the three as the 2, the
4 as the 1: A cocheon of the first with a legge Coupe Sabl: — he
was cozen german to Rodri mawr, and in his time Lord of Arfon.

"Tertius Aryonie Celminus Satropus droedtu
Bicipites nigras aquilas extollit in albo
Quadrato binas pendentes fortiter alas
Fronte sub adversa baculos tres cortice nigro
quarta tamen primæ, par tertia parma secundæ
Fert tibiam medio discissam parmita nigra
Unde tulit nomen droedtu quasi nigripes esset
Rodrici magni patruelis floruit ævo."

4. "*Uwyth Ardudwy ag Efonydd ym amser Anarawd*. 877.

"Gollowyn ap Tagno ap Cadfael ap lludd ap Beli ap Run ap
Maelgon gwynedd ef a dduc Sabl. a thair fflwr de luce Ar.
Rhwing Cwppwl un Rhu — Ag Arglwydd Ardudwy ag Efonydd
oedd ef.

"Ordovica tribus Colloyn Tagnonis in atro
fert (inter flexum) tria candida lilia florum
Rege sub Anarado vir magni nominis egit."

¹ Pennant, in his *History of Whiteford and Holywell*, p. 314, says
"his arms are *vert*, a cross flowery or:."

² Another reading, "Marchutun".

5. "*llwyth vwch dulas yn amser Edwal foel.* 913.

"Marchudd ap Cynan ap Elfin¹ (*sic*) ap mor ap mynнан ap ysgwys mwyntyrch Arglwydd dwnstabl Iarll Northampton — ef a dduc Gul Pen Cawr gardant Arg.

"Strenuus vwch dulæ marchudd bellator in orbe
Sanguinis tumidi spoliū prælustre Gigantis
Aequali pugna et justo certamine cæsi
fert caput avulsum tantique insigne triumphī
Tortilis argenti nitidique corona revincit
que Rex descendens² Henricus Septimus exit
Claruit Edwallo sub calvo Rege Britanno."

6. "*llwyth maelor Amser Howel dda brenin holl gymru.* 940.
*Erill a ddowaid mai llwyth y mars oedd ef. Ag mai Mae-
lawr Crwm yn y llechwedd isa A ddyle fod yn lle Tudr
Trefor medd erill.*

"Tudur Trefor ap ynyr ap Cadfarch ap gwrgant ap gwaethgar ap Powir ap Gwynan ap Cadell dewnlig (*sic*) Jarll Henffordd Arglwydd y ddwu faelor — ef a dduc Ermin ag Ermine p bend sinister llew saliant or.

"Mam Tudur Trefor oedd Rieingar vz. (verch) ag eti (etif-
eddes) lludocca ap Cariadog freichvras.

"Candida parte una sursum sed nigra devisum
Erminiis fulgentis Theodori parma Trevoris
fert rapidum fulvumque sinistro verte Leonem
Mostonis bene nota simul sunt arma Trevoris
innumerisque aliis quos parturit vtraque major
ille sub hovelō vixit sub nomine justo
filia ejus ei nupsit Gladusia conjux."

7. "*llwyth Tegengl Eschiflog amser Llen' ap Seisyllt.* 1015.

"Ednowen Bendew ap Conan veyniad ap gwaith foed fawr o Bowys — ef a dduc Ar. tri phen baedd duon Rhwng Cwpl or vn Rhiu.

"Ednowen bendew capitonem voce Britanna
Invenit hic patrios vastantibus funditus agros
horrendum satis et acutis dentibus aprum
fortiter occidit quapropter tollit in albo
Atra trium capit (*sic*) aprorum curuamine nigro
tota bythelorum domus hac de stirpe refugit
ille Leolino vixit regnante Sigillo (Seisyllto)."

8. "*llwyth Tegengl amser Gr. ap Lln'.* 10 (*sic*).

"Edwin ap Grono ap Edwin ap Howel dda ap Cadell ap Rodri mawr — ef a dduc Ar. Crois florri wedi engrailio a phedair bran duon ar bob corner ai Pige yn gochion.

¹ Another reading, "Ei¹fw".

² "descendens" (?).

"Argento gerit Edwinus Tegennius atram
florentemque cruce[m] nodosam quater inter
cornices rostris crudas tibiisque cruentas
hic sub Griffini Leolini tempore vixit."

9. "*llwyth dyffryn Clwyd ag Strad alyn Amser Bleddyn a Rual-
lon.* 1061.

"Eunudd gwerngwy ap Morien ap Morgeneu ap Gwerystan
ap gwaith foed ef a dduc Asur llew or Saliant.

"Rector Alintonie et Cludanæ vallis evenus
circuleo portat rapidum fulvumque Leonem
Tempore conquestus cum Sceptra britanna teneret
una blethinus cum fratre Ryllone vixit
Resus Marchan avus tria vulsa gerebat equorum
alborum capita asureo quæ baltheus auri
per medium dirimit directo Limine ducens."

10. "*llwyth uwch aled amser Gr. ap Conan.*

"Hedd molwynog ap greddef ap Tynyr ap llawfrodedd farfog
ap Alan ap Asser ap Tudwal ne ludwal (*sic*) gloff ap Rodri
mawr — ef a dduc sabl: Carw hydd Passant Arg:

"Hethus molvinoc cervum sermone Britanno
Inuisit (*or invenit*) vchaledensis honos est stematis author
Tempore Griffini Conani claruit ille."

11. "*llwyth nant conwy amser Owen Gwynedd.* 1137.

"Nefydd hardd ap Ifor ap ysbwysgarthen ap Jestyn farchog
ap Cadwgan ap Elystan glodrydd.

"Gestat in argento Nefydd hardd Conovius heros
Nigrum inter flexum¹ tria spicula tincta cruore
ille sub imperio Gwneithi² (*sic*) vixit Oeni."

12. "*llwyth mōn amser Owen Gwynedd.* 1150.

"Hwfa ap Cynddelw ap Cynws ap Cillin ap maelog dda ap
Greddef ap Cynwys ddu ap Cyllin ynad hen ap Peredur dynnod
ap meilir, Eryr gwyr gorsedd, — ef a dduc gules Cwpl Rhwng
tri llew aur Rampant.

"Hova pater monæ Cinthelii filius effert
tres flexum fulvos rapidosque cruore Leones."

13. "*llwyth mōn ar llechwedd amser Dd. ap Owen.* 1178.

"Gwerydd ap Rys goch ap Sanddef ap Iarddur ap Mor [ap ?]
Tegeryn ap Alan ap gredef ap Cynws ddu ap Cyllin ynad hen
— ef a dduc Arg: ar ben sable Pen tri llewpard aur Ag ei gor-
hendaid ef oedd Iarddur ap mor yr oedd llwyth Penllyn yn Codi
— ef a dduc gules Cwpl Rhwng tri Pen Carw or:

¹ The bend is omitted in Pennant.

² *I.e.*, "Gwyneithi".

"Arviragus Rhesi Monæ non infimus author
Tollit in argento fulvorum trina Leonum
Ora, per, areolam Serie disposita nigrantem
Iarddur huic proavus pellini¹ stematis author
tres albas facies cervorum sanguine portat
Cornibus arrectis quos flexus dividit albus."

14. "*llwyth Cwmwd menau y môn Amser Dd ap Owen.* 1170.

"Ilowarch ap Bran ap dinwal ap Tudwal ap Eunydd ap Alan
ap Asser ap Iudwal ne Tudwal gloff ap Rodr mawr. Ef a dduc
Ar: cwpl Rhwng tair bran dduon ag ymhob un or Pige queen
Ermin.

"Filius ap Brennus rurisque Ilowarchus Alumnus
Menaio Seclusa freto qua Mona residet
Cornices tres divisas curtamine nigro
portat in argento Queen Ermin ore vehentes
hi tres vixerunt sub Oeño daveide nato."

15. "*llwyth dolgelle lleñn ap Ier drwundwn.* 1194.

"Ednowen ap Bradwen ap Idnerth ap Dd Esgid aur ap Owen
aur dorchog ap Coel ap Gweyrydd ap Cynndelw gam ap Eigud
ap gwlfryd ap dolywelyth ap Tegawc ap Cynfach ap mad'
madogion ap Sandde Pryd Angel ap Ilowarch hen — ef a dduc
gules tair neidr Arg. plethiedig yngyd.

"Dolgellei dominus bradwini filius Edwin
Tres albos angues conexos sanguine tollit
Vixit in imperio Leolini nomine magni
Qui toties tantos tulit et tot ab hoste triumphos."

Since I made the preceding transcript I have found, in Yorke's *Royal Tribes*, p. 134, the following notice of this poem:—"Powel the poet, of this house (Ednop), dedicates his *Pentarchia* to Charles I, then Prince of Wales; but it does not appear it was ever printed. He has taken great liberties with prosody and orthography. There are, however, many good lines; and he is accurate in his facts. He prefaces it modestly enough in the following verses:

'Non ita sum gnarus, nec in arte peritus heraldâ
Singula ut innumerem, nec enim mihi tanta facultas:
Quod potui feci, quod restat suppleat alter
Doctior, et nostris faveat non invidus ausis.'

I cannot find when he died, or more in relation to him. Could we reach family authorities, certainly abundant,

¹ Penllini.

much more would be known on the subject in general ; and I trust, as a good Welshman, that the time may come when that will be the case."

It will be seen that the prefatory verses are wanting in the Brogyntyn MS.

In the first volume of Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations* (p. 288) will be found a pedigree of the poet's (Richard Powell) family, and notices of it and of the *Pentarchia* are given in the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, 1870, vol. iii, p. 336, and 1872, vol. v, p. 456.

THE BREIDDEN HILLS, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH CARACTACUS.

Whether the supreme struggle between Caractacus and Ostorius Scapula is laid in Shropshire, in Herefordshire, in Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, or Merionethshire,—for every one of these counties there exist, or have existed, plausible and persistent advocates,—in every one of the advocated locales, to the eye of patriotic fancy

"Juvat ire et Dorica castra,
Desertosque videre locos, littusque relictum."
"Hic Dolopum manus, hic sævus tendebat Achilles."

Æn. ii, 28-30.

And if beside one or two sites it requires great imagination to see in the merest rivulet the "amnis vado incerto", which, if it existed at all, must have had a margin or a "littus", and on others scant space for the Britons to occupy and to be dislodged from, still there are some two or three candidates amongst whom, or which, must rest the probabilities of the whereabouts of the most momentous struggle between the Silurian hero and the able Roman general.

In the autumn of 1877 an excursion was made to the Breidden, near Welshpool, under the auspices of Mr. Morris C. Jones, F.S.A., of Gunrog, the energetic

Honorary Secretary of the Powys-land Club, one result of which was an article in the *Saturday Review* of Oct. 27, which Mr. M. C. Jones obtained permission to reprint in the *Mont. Coll.*, vol. x, iii. Another was a paper supplementing that article, as well as prefacing it with some remarks upon the campaign of the victorious Roman and the gallant Silurian (who, like his descendants, took so long to learn when he was at last beaten), as well as upon the other competing sites, in my mind less probable than the singularly conspicuous and persuasive mountain group of the Breidden.

Tacitus, the sole authority for the details of this campaign, was never in Britain; and as he derived his information probably from his father-in-law, Agricola, whose campaign against the Ordovices is dated in 78 A.D., *i.e.*, more than a quarter of a century later than that of Ostorius Scapula against the Silures, the descriptions of positions and localities are most likely general: such, in fact, as rather betray defects of verisimilitude than furnish notes of correspondence after the lapse of centuries.

Julius Cæsar's conquest of Britain was rather nominal than substantial; and it was nearly a century later that Aulus Plautius was the first in reality to break the district south of the Thames to the subjection of Rome. At the close of seven years of a resistance, in the foreground of which appears always the name of Caractacus, Plautius was recalled to Rome, and Ostorius Scapula was sent to assume the command in Britain. He, on arrival (A.D. 50), lost no time in making the refractory feel his presence, though it was now winter. After repressing the most vexatious, and pursuing and detaching the fugitive tribes, he proceeded to disarm those of which the submission was uncertain, and to confine the suspected within the boundary of the Severn and the Avon by a double line of fortified posts. The first to be sternly repressed were the Iceni of the eastern counties, and from them Ostorius transferred the war to the Cangi, whom Camden places in

Cheshire ; and Pearson, * with others, about Conway. From Tacitus it is clear that his march brought him within reach of the Irish Sea ; but before pursuing his conquest of these he was recalled to the repression of the Brigantes,—a people situate between the Wall of Hadrian, the Mersey, and the Humber. By decisive but moderate action this tribe also was reduced to submission ; and then, having cleared his path of other obstructives, the Roman general bent his attention and arms to the coercion of *the Silures*,—the people, as we take it, of *Hereford, Radnor, Brecon, Monmouth, and Glamorgan*. These, indeed, demanded especially vigorous measures of subjugation, by reason of the tie of friendship and common sovereignty which subsisted betwixt them and the Trinobantes in the south and centre of Britain. Cunobelin, the chief of the latter, was the sire of Caractacus, the irrepressible champion of the former race ; and it is a shrewd supposition of the historian¹ that the object of planting the Roman colony of Camulodunum (near Maldon or Colchester) in the territory of the Trinobantes was to punish, at the centre of the confederation, the rebellion of the extremities. There is distinct relevancy, from this point of view, in the connection of the Camulodune colony with the contest betwixt Rome and the Silures.

It was, then, we infer from Tacitus' account,² from Camulodunum that Ostorius marched his legions, having disposed of all adverse influence in his rear, against the Silures, who had probably pressed beyond their natural boundary, infringing on that of the Dobuni (placed by Ptolemy in Gloucestershire), and laid waste the fields of the Roman settlers on the Severn and the Wiltshire and Somerset Avon. This had been going on for some nine years, when now Ostorius collected his contingents from the encampments on the Cotswolds, crossed the river Severn, and in a series of decisive

¹ See Merivale's *Hist. Rom. under Empire*, vol. vi, p. 31.

² *Tac. Ann.*, xiv, 33. "Itum inde in Siluras."

marches pressed the forces of Caractacus first to their outer line of fortresses on the Malvern range, and so right across the county of Hereford that now is, from the east to the north-west; driving the foe step by step, after a determined and sanguinary resistance, from the camps of *Whitborn* and *Thornbury*, *Croft Ambrey* and *Wapley*,¹ with others, no doubt, of which the name and the traditional association with this famous retreat have not survived.

In the case of each and all of these encampments, though distinctly of British construction, and in many respects excellently adapted for temporary defence against an invading and numerically superior foe, there can be no pretension to the credit of the final struggle, (1), because none possess the "*amnis vado incerto*" (the river with a shifting ford), which, according to Tacitus, flowed at one base; (2), none present an uninterrupted access to hill country into which to flee when the position became untenable; and (3), a more cogent reason than all, because neither can be pretended to have come within the limits of the Ordovices.

Dean Merivale supposes the common boundary of the Silures and Ordovices to have lain between the rivers Wye and Teme; whilst the other authorities on Roman-British geography assign to the latter tribe the North Welsh counties of Montgomery, Merioneth, Flint, Denbigh, Carnarvon, etc. Now Tacitus says² expressly, that to make up by prudence and superior knowledge of the country, for inferiority in numbers, Caractacus transferred the war into the country of the Ordovices, into whose locality he might well be glad to tempt the invader, both to relieve the Silures of their pressure, and in the hope of entangling the Romans in unexplored mountain fastnesses.

¹ Whitborn and Thornbury are in the Bromyard country, the traces of the latter being still very distinct; of the former, less so. Croft Ambrey and Wapley lie about seven miles apart, to the west of Leominster.

² *Tac. Ann.*, xiv, 33. "Bellum transfert in Ordovices."

Of the six contending "Richmonds in the field", none are beyond the supposed limits of the Ordovician territory. But of these,—(1), Caer Caradoc, "on the river Clun" (Humphrey Lluyd's pet), is disqualified by the fact that the Clun, which is an insignificant brook, is three miles distant from the base of the mountain, while the Teme at Knighton is at about the same distance. The camp, too, though a commanding position, is destitute of rugged and frowning rocks, resembling rather a smoothly swarded down.

(2). A rectangular, oblong camp of British type, commanding the valley of the Ithon, and some eight or nine miles from Knighton, near Llanbister, approved itself rather to Dean Merivale when visiting Radnorshire. But our remembrance of it desiderates the higher hills of eventual refuge, if not (though of this we are not positive) the precipitous barriers fronting the river.

(3). The often advocated site of Coxwall Knoll, on the Teme, near Leintwardine, has been placed, so to speak, *hors de combat*, by divers convincing arguments in Hartshorne's *Salopia Antiqua*, pp. 53-56, namely,—(i), the shallow reach of the Teme at its base, which a foe might pass over almost dryshod; (ii), the extreme narrowness of its singular oblong eminence,—an eminence, be it observed, of no great altitude; and (iii), the isolated position of the whole knoll, standing out on all sides from the plain and valley around it.¹ Other competing sites are Cefn Carnedd and Caer Drewyn.

But the Silures have been landed, above, upon the confines of the border-land, and followed in hot pursuit from one camp to another, from the Malverns to the

¹ Sir R. Murchison pointed out at Ludlow, in 1852, that though probably a portion of the British chief's defences, that insulated patch was quite inadmissible as a great battle-field. "If Caractacus had been so imprudent as to fight in a position so cut off from the hills, and had so huddled all his forces into this small space, as sheep in a pen, they must infallibly have all been taken by the Romans."

north-west of Herefordshire. Ostorius' pursuit has led him, under frequent and stubborn impediments from a stubborn foe, who had the advantage in topographical knowledge, towards the verge, at any rate, of the decisive battle-ground.

Is there not as much reason why the singular group of the Breidden should assert its title to the final throes of desperate defence, as the most plausible of those which have been suggested? It need not follow that the Silures retreated, or the Romans pursued along the same route, or each army, *en masse*, by the same track, across Radnorshire and Shropshire to Montgomeryshire. Nothing is more probable than that Caractacus' army divided itself into two or more bands, and that so one contingent might have reached the south of Montgomeryshire through the valley of the Rea, near Marton, and along the top of the Long Mountain by Trelystan; another, by way of Bishop's Castle, from the Ludlow and Clun country.

If this could be assumed it would tend to explain why we have so many traditions of battles for the defence of the soil at the Caradocs and elsewhere, *i.e.*, as preliminary to the final issue. It appears clear that the tactics of Caractacus were designed to draw Ostorius northward into the country of the Ordovices; and if, as has been shrewdly suggested, the latter consummate general was equally bent upon driving Caractacus back upon his own country, a reason would be supplied for the otherwise puzzling fact that, in accepting the Breidden as the site of the battle, we find the Roman general on the north of the Severn, whereas it is not patent why he should have had to cross it. To the north-west of Llanymynach, at a place called Clawdd Coch, is a Roman camp that might have been occupied by Ostorius, and there is no improbability in the supposition of previous Roman occupation. There might, indeed, have been an ascent of the Romans from the south side of the Severn, without any crossing of the river; but this is forbidden by the details of Tacitus.

The want of clear geographical data forbids mere speculation why Ostorius should have had to cross the Severn from the north of the bank, in the face of the Breidden group. Suffice it that there is nothing to contradict the presumption that he marched towards the west of them from the direction of the present town of Welshpool, by way of the valley of the Severn, and along its northern bank. As we have said, there was at least one Roman station on the north side of that river, whatever doubt may exist as to its locality. For strategical purposes Ostorius may have had to cross the river from the south, on his march from the Radnorshire country higher up; and to recross again from the north, this time in the teeth of an armed resistance, at about five or six miles from Welshpool, upon the north bank.¹

Let the reader contemplate the vantage ground of the Silurian chief on the broad showing of Dean Merivale: "Caractacus took up a position of his own choosing, where the means both of approach and retreat were most convenient for himself and unfavourable for the enemy. It was defended in part by a steep and lofty acclivity, in part by stones rudely thrown together. A

¹ An acute correspondent, well versed in the geography of the district, and the details as well as the enigmas of the question, writes as follows: "If the Romans were marching from the Malverns I do not see why they should be found in Montgomeryshire; but if the Ordovices inhabited North Wales (north of the Kerry Hills), then their presence about Llanymynach and Llandysilio is easily accounted for. Tacitus says, after mentioning Camulodunum, 'Itum inde in Silures'; and afterwards of Caractacus, 'Bellum transfert in Ordovicas'. Now suppose the British army had moved to the north into new ground, what more natural than that the Roman general should operate to drive him back into his own country? On the advance of the Romans, Caradoc retreats towards the south. What position better suited than the Breidden group could possibly be imagined? Here, on the verge of the hill country connected with Siluria, you have a mass of hill pushed out into the plain like a bastion. Among the hills at the back of the Breidden are to be found the earthworks connected with the name of Caradoc." "This", he adds, "if I recollect aright, is about Merivale's view."

stream, with no frequented ford, flowed before it; and chosen bands of his best armed and bravest warriors were stationed in front of its defences.....Ostorius, on his part, was amazed at the ardour of men whom he supposed beaten, cowed, and driven hopelessly to bay. It was the eagerness of his soldiers rather than his own courage and judgment which determined him to give the signal for attack. The stream was crossed without difficulty, for every legionary was a swimmer, and the Britons had no engines for hurling missiles for a distance, nor were they even noted for the rude artillery of bows and slings. But they defended their ramparts obstinately with poles and javelins, and from behind it dealt wounds and death upon the assailants, till the Romans could form the tortoise, approach the foot of the wall, tear down its uncemented materials, and, bursting in, challenge them to combat hand to hand. Unequal to the shock, the Britons *retreated up the hill*. The Romans, both the light and heavy armed, pressed gallantly upon them; and imperfectly as they were equipped, they could withstand neither the sword nor *pilum* of the legionary, nor the lance and spear of the auxiliary. *The victory, quickly decided, was brilliant and complete.*" (*History of Romans under the Empire*, vol. vi, pp. 38-9.)¹

And now it is time, perhaps, that we should come to close quarters with the Breidden group of hills. Setting out at Welshpool from the north bank of the river, we go past Buttington Church, and make our way towards the south bank of the Severn, along a parish road which leads to a farm called the Old Mills, near which, at a bend of the river, is an ancient ford answering to the description of Tacitus as being, till a century ago, the only passage, at any period of the year, in that particular part of the river; and even itself, in times of

¹ Dean Merivale fails to mention the retreat of the Silures when they could no longer hold their ground, "Decedere barbari in juga montium." (*Ann.*, xii, c. xxxv.) The other notes of the Roman historian's description are grasped with sufficient exactness.

flood; swollen bank-high and impassable. The ford in question is said by Mr. Wynn Ffoulkes, in his paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (1851), to have been destroyed by heavy floods seventy years ago, and to have gone by the common name of the "Outher Ford". Considerably further along the course of the Severn, from Welshpool, and almost opposite to the precipitous rocks of the Breidden, where they are surmounted by Rodney's Pillar, is a ferry which bears the significant name of Rhyd Esgyn, or Rhetescyn (*i.e.*, "The Ferry of the Ascent"), *one of those helps of language towards fixing a dubious site, which we should welcome with eagerness, were not the "juga imminentia" right above it so steep and sheer that no human force, even of warlike and disciplined Rome, would have attempted to scale them; and any attempt to cross here would only have involved needless exposure to a well posted enemy.* In all probability, therefore, the "Outher Ford" was the real passage, lying to the north of the Old Mills Farm, near which, in the first and second field from the Severn bank, are signs of a road and earthworks, in the direct route for the Moel-y-Golfa and the Breidden. Within the second field, indeed, from the ford is a considerable oblong earthwork, looking in its narrowest part not unlike to Offa's Dyke, and which probably represents an entrenchment thrown up by the Romans in their movement up the hills, in view of the possibility of having to retreat by the way they came. From this bank or ditch a way leads past a wooded knoll called Voel Coppice, in Trewern; and one obvious and feasible road of access thence to the "ancient fortress" of the Breidden is a sufficiently narrow and steep ascent by a circuitous track; exposed, however, in flank to the missiles of the foe on his strongly manned heights.

These hills, as I need not say, present two principal masses, the Breidden and Moel-y-Golfa, extending in parallel ridges from west-south-west to east-north-east. The Breidden, which gives its name to the rest, frowns

direct over the Severn with a rounded summit (according to Murchison, 1,199 feet above the sea), and surmounted by Rodney's Pillar and Caractacus' fortress *par excellence*. Moel-y-Golfa, of curious conical and volcanic appearance, forms the south-western end of the largest ridge, which extends into Shropshire in the hills of Middleton, Cefn-y-Castel, Bulthey, and Bauseley. Cefn-y-Castel itself is the unmistakable site of another British entrenchment, south-west of the Breidden stronghold; and between Moel-y-Golfa and the Breidden fortress runs the spur of the hill called *Cefn Eithin*, or *the Gorse Ridge*, which, if in the hands of the British, was another fortress from which the Romans would be assailed in their ascent of the heights.

There is, indeed, no authority for positively asserting that the Romans did not pursue the narrow track by which the modern tourist would ascend the mountain after Voel Coppice is passed, by the left of Cefn Eithin, up to the higher ground called in the Ordnance Map "The New Pieces", and then, in the very teeth of the foe, turn boldly to the north, and carry the fortress with characteristic Roman valour. But certainly it would bespeak as much rashness as courage to take a route so closely commanded as this would seem to have been, on either side, by a series of formidable encampments of stones and rocks bristling with men and missiles. One hardly sees how, in so abrupt and tortuous an ascent, there would have been room for any considerable military force to face about and scale the heights at any point short of the ascent from "The New Pieces".

Perhaps the more feasible ascent for the Romans to the master situation designated on the Ordnance Survey "The Old Fortress", was, after crossing the ford at Old Mills, a divergence at Trewern from the route already indicated up the hills, ascending by a more sheltered path, and threading a pass distinctly traceable between Cefn Eithin and Moel-y-Golfa, the former of which heights would hide them for some distance

from the garrison of "The Old Fortress" on the north. This would be, for a considerable distance, a relief to a harassed and toilsome march. It would, if followed out in its fullest extent, lead us to the picturesque wooded mound of Belle Isle and Bauseley Hill (which are said to be corruptions of a name spelt in half a dozen different ways), to the west of which is Bulthey, or Builthy, a pass on the Alberbury side of the Breidden range. We do not suppose the Romans to have taken this route *further than the east end of the spur of Cefn Eithin (the Gorse Ridge); and perhaps one portion of the invading force may have pressed upwards on the north side of this ridge or spur, and another by the south.* The two bands may have joined somewhat to the left of Cefn-y-Castel, and near what is called in the Ordnance Map, "The New Pieces", and there girded themselves for a hand-to-hand encounter with the British, whom we take to have been in possession of the heights, and of whose huts, or *cyttiau*, it is palpable to the observant pedestrian that the loose-piled stones remain to this day as *souvenirs*. If such a route appears to some ultra-Roman admirers of antique prowess to have been stripped of its gravest difficulties, we submit that nevertheless it affords scope for a sufficiently arduous assault, as will be patent to the tourist who scales the Breidden without military harness and *impedimenta*.

On the summit of Bauseley Hill, connected with this range, is another British entrenchment with two concentric ditches to the west, each with a counterscarp of 10 ft., and a naturally fortified, sheer east side. Within these defences Caradoc may have hoped still to have made head, and bided his time for a new revolt, but for the treachery of the infamous Cartismandua. At any rate, in whatever way it may have been scaled and taken, the Breidden (proper) is a tremendous vantage-ground, fit to have witnessed a triumph of Roman warfare, fit also to have been chosen for the supreme struggle of the most valiant of the British chieftains.

It is of ample dimensions, of remarkable natural and highly creditable artificial strength, and altogether an appropriate scene for the throes of a barbarian empire, when "venit summa dies, et ineluctabile fatum".

A word or two may be said, in conclusion, of the nomenclature of this Silurian fortress, which, in its appellation of "Breidden", has exercised the ingenuity of local etymologists. One of these conjectures interprets Breidden to be Bryn Eithin, or "Gorse Hill"; another makes it Breith Den (the speckled camp, from the trap rock), in allusion to the coarse-grained porphyritic greenstone of which (see Murchison's *Siluria*, p. 291) the prevailing mass of the Breidden is composed; and a third gives us Bre-y-ddin, *i.e.*, "the bare hill of the fort".

J. DAVIES.

SUPPOSED LEPER-CUPS AND BRONZE VESSEL

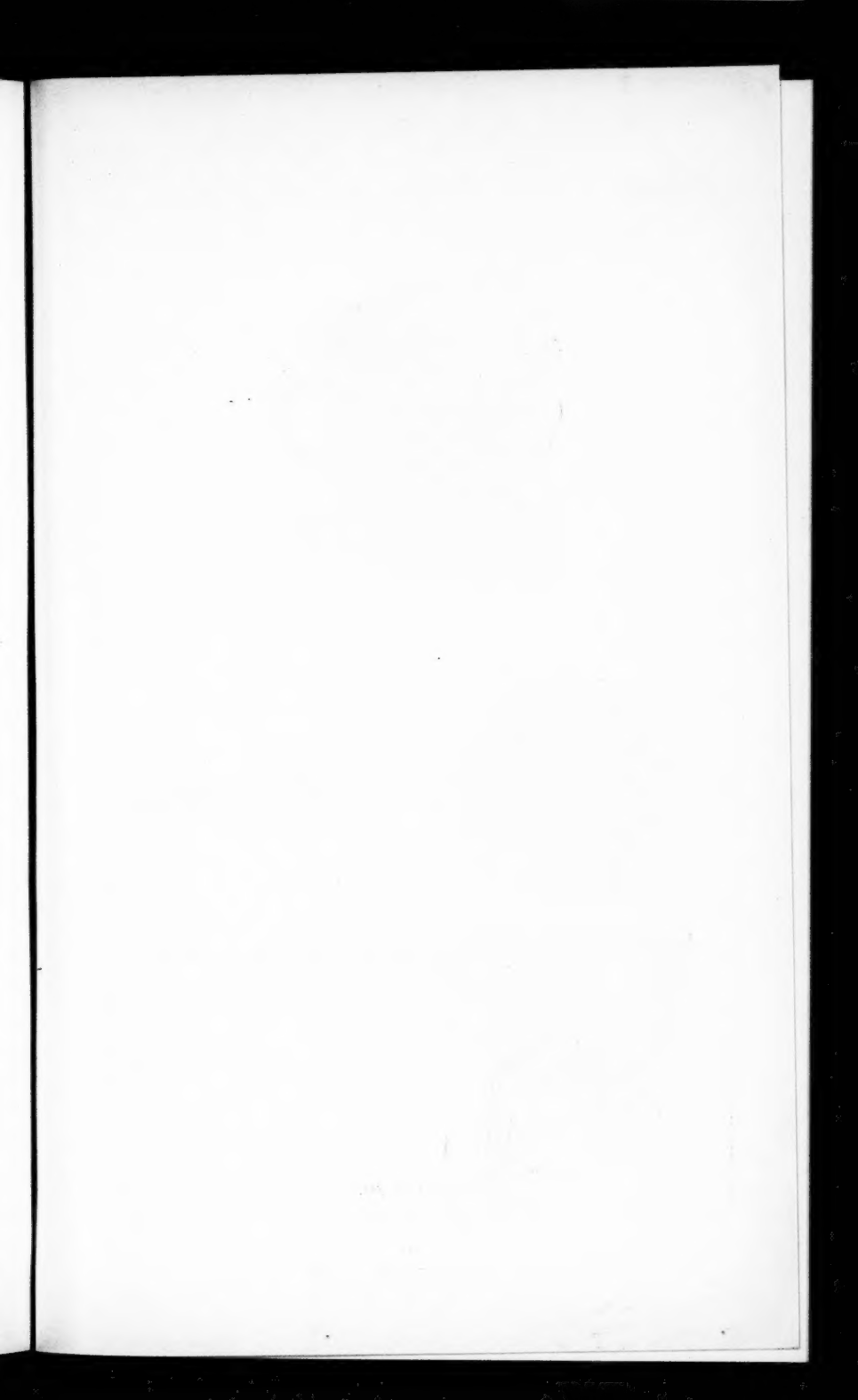
SHEWN AT THE ABERGAVENNY MEETING, 1876.

THIS Museum contained two objects which deserve some notice. One of these is a bronze or bell-metal vessel supported on three legs, and furnished with a handle. It has apparently a cover, also furnished with a handle; but the cover, instead of being flat, is in the form of a spoon or ladle. That it was intended to be used as such there is little doubt. But that it could, from its size, never have been so used with the vessel is undeniable. It must, therefore, have been used to ladle out soup or porridge from some larger vessel, and to pour it into this smaller one, which served also as a measure to secure an equal distribution among the recipients, whether servants or other dependents, as well as the poor. Hence the use of the handle, which, but for this reason, would be useless. The inscription, PITY. THE. PORE. 1684, does not necessarily imply

that the poor were the only ones thus served, for it was customary at that date, and much earlier as well as later, to take advantage of any opportunity to inculcate religious and moral lessons.

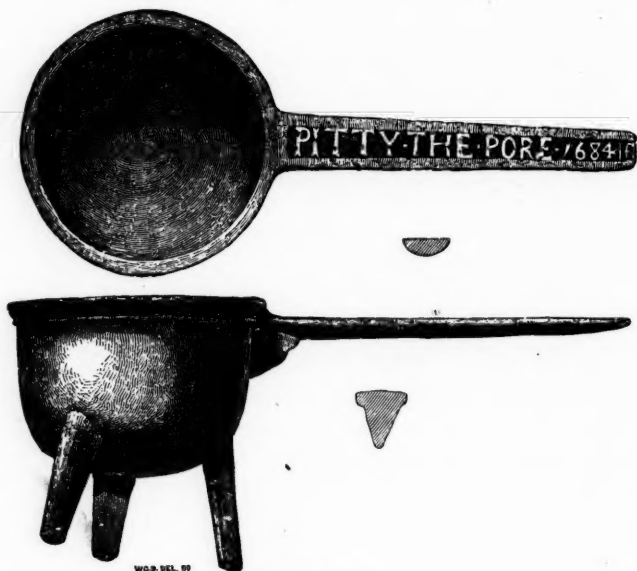
This custom, which probably commenced with the reign of Edward VI, more or less continued until the end of that of Anne. The mantels of chimneys, much loftier and larger than at the present time, were usually selected for this purpose, and numerous examples still exist. One of the finest is to be seen in the great room in the manor-house of South Wraxhall in Wiltshire, close on the border of Somersetshire. This magnificent mantelpiece, which reaches to the ceiling, is of the time of James I, and is covered with various emblematic figures illustrative, however, more of art and science than of morals and religion. In a state bedroom connected with the large room is a smaller and plainer mantelpiece, on which may be read several pious maxims and precepts.

In Wales examples occur, as in the hall of Corsgedol, in Merioneth, as will be remembered by those who attended the Portmadoc Meeting, where, over the fireplace, in very conspicuous letters, is the inscription, "*Sequere justitiam et invenias vitam.*" The composer, however, does not appear to have been well instructed in Latin syntax, or instead of *et* he would have written *ut*. But it is more likely to have been the blunder of the workman. Here, as in Wraxall House, Latin is the language employed, which was more usual at that time. Whether the texts which, surrounded with a border more or less ornamental, adorned the walls of many country churches, have any connection with this custom, is not certain; but the desire of thus instructing people seems to have been the motive in both cases. In the case of church texts, however, English or Welsh, and not Latin, is the medium, as might be expected. A few years ago Llanelidan Church, in the county of Denbigh, had its walls so decorated; and they may still be so if the churchwardens' whitewash has not covered them up.





Half actual size.



Quarter actual size.

THREE-HANDLED JUG AND TRIFOD LADLE FROM ABERGAVENNY MUSEUM.

The accurate representation here given is the work of the Society's artist, Mr. Worthington Smith.

The other remarkable object exhibited in the Museum is a small three-handled cup, for a representation of which we are also indebted to the same skilful pencil. It is described as a leper's cup, but on what grounds we are not aware. It is the property of Mr. C. Davies of Derwen Cottage, near Abergavenny, who informs us that in replacing the pavement of his kitchen about thirty years ago, he found numerous portions of the same ware. Most of these remains were very fragmentary; but in two or three cases the forms and dimensions could easily be restored. They were of differing sizes, holding from a pint to a quarter of a pint. The smallest of these was perfect; but unfortunately Mr. Davies has by some means lost it. All of them had three handles. The present house of Mr. Davies was formerly called *Spittle*; so that some hospital, no doubt, existed on the spot. It may have been a leper's hospital; but there is no proof of it, nor is there even a tradition on the subject. In addition to the discovery under the kitchen pavement, numerous portions of the same ware have been found in the garden. These were all of the same colour, namely of a dark brown, approaching to black, and more or less well glazed. The size of the cup in Mr. Davies' possession measures $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in circumference, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ deep. These are all the facts that are known of their history.

"From the number of fragments found it is probable that they were articles in common use, and not mere ornamental vessels, as the existence of these handles might suggest; and it is possible that these three-handled cups were intended for domestic use, as Mr. R. Ready, a well known official of the British Museum, thinks the extra handle would be found convenient for passing the cup from one person to another, so that the vessel would always present a handle to the person wanting to take hold of it. This may have been the practice in two-handled cups. On the other hand,

the smallness of some of the three-handled cups was such (holding not more than a quarter of a pint) that the passing round must have been unnecessary, unless we suppose that the liquor within was of so potent a nature that a small sip of it would be sufficient. This theory, however, is certainly not confirmed by a vessel in the possession of Mr. Ready, which he describes as of "coarse brown black ware, with no less than thirteen handles". If Mr. Ready's suggestion as to the three-handled cups be correct, this singular one with thirteen handles could hardly have been intended for domestic use. It may have been a freak of some potter, or intended as an ornament.

As to the date of these cups, it is difficult to fix it. If they may be called mediæval, they are probably very late in that period, and subsequent to the hospital being used as such; presuming that it was such, as the name *Spitty* generally indicates. The number of fragments found, and the various sizes and contents of the cups, seem to shew, as already stated, that they were domestic vessels, and not leper-cups.

E. L. BARNWELL.

NOTES ON EARLY POWYS.

ANY attempt to reconstruct the story of early Powys must start with the etymology of the name. The two most probable theories as to its origin and meaning are those which regard it respectively as a generic and a specific name. The former of these, which is supported by the authority of Canon Williams of Rhydygroesau, and the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, regards it as a cognate form of the Latin *pagus*, French *powes*, Corn. *poues*, *poez*, Arm. *poez*, Gaelic *fois*; and resolves itself to the root-form, *pau* (a region), with the termination *gwys*, indicative of its inhabitation, as in Lloegr-wys, Mon-wys, Mochnan-wys; so that *powys*, as the out-lying country, would bear the same relation to the more populous or central town as the *pagani* did to the Roman towns.

The other theory, put forward by Dr. Crawford Tait Ramage, would claim it as a specific, or rather locative, name, which he would derive, after the analogy of Cheshire, Lancashire, and other counties, from its chief town under the Roman occupation; and this he suggests to have been Bo-vium, which he would, moreover, place at Bangor.

Now, whilst we would rather identify Bovium with Caergwrle, where undoubted Roman remains exist, and in the immediate neighbourhood of which is the strange but suggestive name of Brym-bo, and whilst we admit that either theory would meet the requirements of the case, we are, nevertheless, more inclined to favour that which we will call the generic; and it is by its aid that we would account for the name under which the inhabitants in general were known to the Romans in the time of Tacitus; I mean the "Ordovices".

Between the Roman camp of Clawdd Côch, on the banks of the Tanat, near Llanymynech,—a camp which

has more to be said in its favour than any other, as the "Mediolanum" of the *Itinerary*,—and the Breidden Hill, which we claim as answering most closely to the description of the site of the final struggle of Caractacus against Ostorius Scapula ; between these two lies a low, flat district, called, from its liability to floods, "Gordwr Hafren" or "Y Gorddwr". Combine with this the generic *powys*, and we have Gordo-powys, Gorddofwys ; Latinised into Ordovices. We do not, indeed, recognise this name of Ordovices in any of our earliest Welsh poems ; and this may be regarded, perhaps, as a confirmation of its *local* significance ; but the country comprehended within the limits assigned to them is described under its many component districts. Among these we may enumerate—

1. *Teyrnllwg*, the country extending from Chester to Chirk ; the first to give a prince to the whole of Powys, in the person of Cadell Deyrnllwg, the father of the first Cyngen, and the contemporary of St. Germanus.

2. *Meigen*, probably represented in the present name of Mechain,—a name which appears more than any other to have been bound up with their pride of race ; for it was from Meigen that the men of Powys derived their special privileges, and from the deeds of prowess there that they traced their fourteen Gwelygorddeu (tribes or families).

3. *Argoed*, the country stretching from the Severn to the Dee ; the region that figures so largely in the Privileges (*Breiniau*) and in the Elegy of (Marwnad) Cynddylan, the Prince.

4. *Mochnant*, the land of Brochwel Ysgythrog, was another portion, as implied in the Elegy on Ywain ap Madoc.

5. *Fferyllwg*, *Fferlegs*, or *Fferleys*, the country lying between the Severn and the Wye ; probably the same with Ewryenwy, Eurenwy, Ereinwe, Erging.

6. *Glodrydd*, a portion of Fferyllwg, the land of Cadwallawn and of Elystan ; and perhaps we may add a

7. *Glewisig*, which is stated in the *Life of St. Beuno*

to have been on the banks of the Severn, and of which his father was Prince.

For the early history, such as it is, we must go to many different sources, and be content with such a meagre compendium as can be put together from such various elements as local names, church founders, and the lives of early British saints, historical references in early poems, the remnants of ancient rites and customs, and the survival of written and oral tradition. The more we analyse such sources, the more we shall find them instinct with life and interest; even where, perhaps, at first sight we should have least expected it. And it will add vastly to our enjoyment of the beautiful scenery with which the country abounds, when we learn to read the story that lies embedded in the hill-camps and the moated mounds, in the church legend and the fairy tale, in the descriptive place-name, and the obscure poetic allusion.

Reference has already been made to the presence of the Romans, and they have left their mementos in the greater stations at Uriconium, Rutunium, and Caersws, and in the smaller ones at The Gaer, near Montgomery, and Clawdd Côch, near Llanymynech. Besides these there were the main trunk lines of communication, such as the Watling Street and the Via Devana, and the earlier British trackways which they made use of for the interconnection of their stations and camps. Tacitus, in his account of the decisive battle between Ostorius Scapula and Caractacus, describing the difficulties of the site selected by the British Prince, and the means he adopted to render it impregnable, speaks of the last struggle as taking place at the agger, and mentions the "*rudes et informes saxorum compages*",¹ which may still be traced in the ancient fortress on the Breidden. He also indicates the ordinary type of the British forts when he tells us of the Iceni, that "*locum pugnæ delegere, septum agresti aggere et aditu angusto*". The place they selected for fighting was defended by a rude

¹ *Annales*, bk. xii, c. 31.

mound and a narrow entrance,—a concise description, which applies with singular accuracy to the character of the multitudinous camps that crown the hill-tops, and command the passes into the narrow valleys. This method of fortification and defence must have continued in use for some generations after the departure of the Romans, for we have many such camps bearing the names of later chieftains and princes. Such are Bwlch Aeddan, named after Aeddan, the father of Brochwel the second, who is himself commemorated in the adjoining glade of Llanerch *Frochwel*, and whose father, Elisau or Eliseg, appears to have been the real onomatopœist of what is now called Clawdd Llesg; whilst on the other side of the hill we have a Dolarddyn, which may have been so called after Arddyn Benasgell, the wife of Brochwel Ysgythrog the first. All these occur in close proximity in the same neighbourhood, and it may be that other districts, when more closely examined, will equally confirm and elucidate the story of the past.

Turning from military to ecclesiastical matters, we find contemporary with Cadell Deyrnllwg, the earliest Prince of Powys, the mission of St. Germanus, whose progress through the country is attested by the dedication of churches in his name, on the borders of Arwystley, in Mechain and Mochnant and Dyffryn Ceiriog and Iâl. Soon after Germanus we have the visit of Cadvan, with his companions, from Armorica, of whom we have witnesses not only in the name of Llan-Gadvan, but in the dedications to his companion, Tydecho, of Mallwyd and Llanymawddwy and of Llan-Gurig, Tre-Gynon, Llan-Drinio, and others, after their respective founders; and especially in the name of St. Padarn, handed down not only in the see which once embraced a portion of Powys, but also in the only early inscribed stone which the county of Montgomery is known to possess, in Llanerfyl churchyard. Following at no long interval after St. Cadvan we have St. Beuno, whose stone of commemoration stands in the parish of Ber-

riew, whose name is honoured in that church and Bettws, whose visit to Tyssilio at Meifod is recorded, and who appears to have followed thence the line of the Sarn Sws as far as the valley of the Dee, where he left his mark at Gwyddelwern previous to his more famous doings at Holywell and Clynog.

Contemporary with these were those early founders, of whom little has been handed down save their bare names. Such were Cynfelyn (Welsh Pool), Aelhaiarn (Guilsfield), Dogfan (Llanrhaiadr), and many others. Among these, however, we must not pass over St. Melangell, with the legend of her beauty and seclusion, her protection of wild animals, and the privilege of sanctuary granted to her in the picturesque and remote valley of Pennant by the royal huntsman, Brochwel Ysgythrog. Nor must we omit to mention that other hermit of more historic fame, St. Gwyddvarch, whose "gwely", or bed, is pointed out on the hill to which he gave its anchorite name¹ at Meifod; where, too, he founded the first of its triad of Christian churches. It is, moreover, on no unreasonable or unlikely grounds, as we maintain, that we would claim for Gwyddvarch the honour of being the hermit whom the British bishops consulted before giving their reply to Augustine. Famous for his knowledge and prudence, and dwelling near the summer residence (Mai-fod) of Brochwel Ysgythrog, whose wife was a sister of Dunoth (the spokesman of the British bishops), Abbot of Bangor Iscoed,—itself, be it remembered, a foundation of the Powysian princes,—what more likely than that the Britons should wish to consult their most eminent countrymen in Church and state before giving their reply to Augustine on so national a question? What more natural or more simple than that they should, in journeying to give that reply, take the Roman road that led from Deva to Mediolanum, and take counsel with both Gwyddvarch and Brochwel on their way to the scene of conference?

We pass on to the historical allusions in some of the

¹ Allt yr Ancr.

earliest Welsh poems. First among them we will place the *Englynion y Beddau* (Stanzas on the Graves of the Warriors), some of which refer to this immediate locality, *e.g.*,—

"Ebetu yn hir vyny
Yn llywyr y gwyr lluosit
Bet gwryen, gyrhyt engwaut'
A llwyttauc uab Lliwelit."

The 32nd.

The graves in the Long Mountain,
Multitudes well know it,
Are the graves of Gwrien, Guryd Engwaut
And Llwyddog, the son of Lliwelydd.

51st.

"Bet milwr mirein gnawd kel-
ein
Oetav kin bu tav y dan mein
Llachar mab run yg elun kein."

The grave of a stately warrior : many a
carcase was usual
From his hand : before he became silent
beneath the stone.
Llachar, the son of Rhun, is in the valley
of the Cain.

58th.

"Bet deheveint ar cleveint avon
Yg gwrthtir mathavarn
Y stiffwl Kedwir cadarn."

The grave of Dehewaint is on the river
Cleveint,
In the uplands of Mathavarn,
The support of mighty warriors.

And perhaps we may add the 5th :

'Bet Keri cletif hir yg godir
hen
Egluis yn y diffuis graeande
Taru torment ym mynwent cor-
bre."

The grave of Kerry of the Long Sword is
in the neighbourhood of the old church,
In a gravelly cliff.
Taru Torment in the graveyard of Cor-
bre.²

Who these heroes were, and what their exploits, we know not. Their names only have been thus saved from oblivion ; and they stand as the rare illustrations of a far distant past, to which the other nameless tumuli bear silent witness.

The earliest poet or bard we can summon to our aid is Llywarch Hen of Argoed (a district, it will be remembered, of Powys), who in his early years, when strong of limb and light of heart, had been admitted to the council chamber of Powys, the Paradise of Cymru :

"Kynn bum kein vaglauc bum hy
Am kynnwysit yghyfyrdy
Powys Paradwys Gymry." (P. 259.)

¹ *Cwm yr Henog* is the name of one of its dingles.

² In the neighbourhood of Kerry we have the camp of *Caer-bre*, which appears to have given its name to the parish of Chirbury.

In his old age he mourned in pathetic numbers the fallen fortunes of his chief Cynddylan, the Prince, and the untimely death of his own sons. He tells us how Cadwallawn was encamped on the banks of the Severn, on the other side of Dygen, and how the destroyers were burning the land of Meigen :

"Lluest Gadwallawn ar hafren
Ac o'r tu draw y dygen
Abreieit yn llosgi Meigen."

At another time he paints the same Cadwallawn, whom he describes as of Glodrydd (the land of Elystan), encamping on the slopes of the Long Mountain (Cefn Digoll), and engaged in a long and bitter war with the Mercian invaders. For seven months he fought seven battles daily,—

"Lluest gadwallawn glodryd
Ygguarthaf digoll fynyd
Seith mis a seith gat beunyd."

So deeply, indeed, has the fierceness of this struggle been stamped on the national mind that it has become permanently fixed in the series of stanzas called *Gorwynion* :

"Gorwyn blaen coll ger digoll bre
Diaeie fyd pob foll
Gweithred cadarn cadw arfoll."

White are the hazel-shoots on Digoll Hill,
Pitiless falleth blow on blow.
'Tis a hero's part to hold his own.

But it is in his *Elegy on Prince Cynddylan* that we meet with the most frequent and vivid allusions to scenes and events in this border-land of Powys. The *Lloegrians* are on the march, advancing steadily towards Tren, and Cynddylan is called upon to defend, first, the hill-slope, and then the ancestral hall.

"Cynddylan cae di y rhiw
Er y daw Lloegyrrwys heddyw
Amgeledd am un nid gwiw.

Cynddylan, keep thou the slope
Till the Lloegrians come to-day.
Anxiety on account of one is not fitting.

"Cynddylan cae di y nen
Yn i daw Lloegyrrwys trwy Dren
Ni elwis coed o un pren."

Cynddylan, keep thou the roof-tree
Till the Lloegrians come through Tren.
'Tis not called a wood for one tree.

But, alas ! it is in vain. The invaders win the day. Cynddylan and his brother Elvan are slain, and the hall of Cynddylan on Carreg Hydwyth,—probably the rock of *Pengwern* (*Am-wyth-ig*), Shrewsbury,—is dark and gloomy and deserted :

"Ystavell Cynddylan, nid es- mwyth heno Ar ben carreg Hydwyth Heb ner heb niver heb amwyth.	The hall of Cynddylan is comfortless to- night, On the Rock of Hydwyth Without lord, or company, or feast.
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"Ystavell Cynddylan ys tywyll ei nen Gwedi diva o Loegyrwys Cynddylan ac Elvan Powys."	The hall of Cynddylan,—dark is its roof Since the Lloegrians destroyed Cynddylan and Elvan of Powys."
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And now the eagle-crested victor begins his ravages. The Vale of Meisir feels his heavy hand ; the land of Brochwel bleeds, and Tren is a blazing ruin :

"Eryr Eli gorthrymed heno Dyfynt Meisir mygedawg Dir Brochwel hir rhygodded.	The Eagle of Eli hath afflicted to-night The vale of illustrious Meisir, Brochwel's land, long affronted.
--	---

"Eryr Pengwern pell galwawd heno Ar waed gwyr gwyllawd Rhy gelwir Tren tref ddifawd."	The Eagle of Pengwern screamed aloud to- night, For the blood of men he watched. Tren may indeed be called a ruined town.
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Fast and wide the ruin spreads. The churches of Bassa fall under the ban, and the White Town between Tren and Traval hears the clash of shields and swords :

"Eglwysi Bassa collasant eu braint Gwedi diva o'r Loegyrwys Cynddylan ac Elvan Powys.	The churches of Bassa have lost their pri- vileges Since the Lloegrians destroyed Cynddylan and Elvan of Powys.
--	--

"Y drev wen rhwng tren a thraval Oed gnodach y gwaed ar Wyneb gwellt nog eredig braen- ar."	The White Town between Tren and Tra- val. More common was the blood On the surface of the grass than the ploughed fallow.
---	---

Wider and further still the overthrow and the slaughter and the wailing extend. The Avaerwy and the Tren and the Trydonwy, the Twrch and the Marchwy, the Elwyddan, the Geirw, and the Alwen, all feel the deadly influence :

"Amhaval ar Avaerwy
Yd a Tren yn y Trydonwy
Ac yd a Twrch yn Marchwy.

Amhaval ar Elwyddan
Yd a Trydonwy yn Tren
Ac yd a Geirw yn Alwen."

The banks of the Severn and the Dwyriw, the soil of Ercal, the fortress of Uriconium, and the funeral mound of Elwydan, each is made to contribute some mournful episode, till the bereft and sorrowing father breaks forth at last in the agonising cry, "Woe is me, O God, that I am alive!"

"Tywarchen Ercal ar âr dywal Wyr o edwedd Moryal A gwedi Rhys mae rhysonial.	The soil of Ercal is on brave men, On the progeny of Morial. After Rhys is great lamentation.
"Tom Elwydan neu 's gwyllch gwlaw Mae Maodyn o danaw Dyn vai Cynon iw gwynaw.	The Mound of Elwydan, is it not wet with rain? Maodyn lies beneath. Cynon is to be lamented.
"Neu'r syllais o ddinlle Frecon Freuer werydre Hiraeth am damorth brodyrdd.	I have observed from Dinlle Vrecon The patrimony of Freuer, With grief for its social enjoyment.
"Gwedi fy mrodyr o dymmyr hafren I am dwylan dwyriw Gwae vi Dduw fy mod yn fyw."	After my brethren from the region of Sarm And the banks of Dwyriw. Woe is me, O God, that I am alive!

Struggles less fierce and momentous must have been frequent from the very necessities of the situation. Pressed upon by the advancing hosts of the Lloegrians (for as yet we find no trace of the later tribe, the Saxons), whose fierce oppression so threw their predecessors into the shade that their very name was superseded,—and driven back by the wilder and freer mountaineers of Gwynedd, it was their fortune to be involved in continual quarrels with the one or the other; and as surely as they made their peace with either side, to incur the fierce hostility of their enemies.

It was probably to deeds of prowess in these border-wars that the fourteen "Gwelygorddau", or Tribes of Powys, owed their origin, for valour in battle was in those early days the royal road to honour. Indeed, some of the stanzas in which they are enumerated bear special references to such battles as Garthan and Gwytgyn and Camaun, and each tribe seems to be noted by some characteristic trait. The battle of Gwytgyn ("gwaedle Gwytgyn"), mentioned in the third of the

prefatory stanzas, the "gwrt uytyn" of the seventh "Gwelygordd", may, perhaps, be identified with the name of Whitton, near Westbury, in the *Domesday* hundred of *Witen-treu*, under Caur. The language is very obscure, and hard to translate; but we may gather from it that the "Gwelygorddeu" derived their origin from the district of Meigen, "Aw'ch breint o Veigen". In order to analyse them more minutely we will take them in the order of the poem:

1. *Lleissiawn*, whose chief was distinguished by the golden torque, and whose emblem was the eagle,—

"Eurdorchawg farchawg meirch agkrawn
Eryr gwyr gwelygordd Lleissiawn."

In the *Cylch Llewelyn*, or Circuit of Prince Llewelyn, mention is made of *Teyrnaut Lleissiawn*, a district probably coextensive with the cantred of Llyswinaf, and so embracing the royal residence at Mathraval.

2. *Gwellig*, the second knightly tribe, which, from the epithet "Kadellig", we may assign to the name of Prince Cadell and the country of Teyrnllwg. Its descriptive appellative was "The Wolf":

"Eil wely gort vawr veirt wellig am peirch
Ar ugyrueirch ar ugyr uyg
Bleityeu toryf tervysg diechig
Bleinnayid kynayid kadellig."

3. *Yorueirthiawn* occupied the third place, for their exploits in battle against the impetuous Lloegrians ("Vlaengar-Lloegyr lleitiaid llofrutieid"). Later on we find Cadwallawn ap Madoc described in his *Marwnad* as "Dragon dreig yorwerthyawn".

4. *Madogion* Madawc Essillt came next, and were probably the other descendants of Cadwallawn's father.

5. *Arotyawn* next, the heroes of the great conflict of Maran,—a name which we may identify in Maranwy, which is stated on no mean authority to be the source and clue to the name of the river Vyrnwy.

"Aeruyr gawr arvod vawr varan—Arotyawn."

The poet Taliesin, in his *Marwnad i Urien*, alludes to it,

"Am dano gwyledd
Eurdeyrn gogled
A lluaws maraned
Arbenig teyrned."

6. *Llutyawn* (? *Lluydion*) formed the next tribe, the heroes of "Caer Ellion", distinguished for their blood-stained swords; and as they were derived from Cadwallawn, they may have occupied a portion of Glodrydd.

7. *Gweirnyawn*, famous for the conflict of Wytin, which, if rightly supposed to be Whitton, near Westbury, would identify them with a portion of Ereinwg or Ferregs.

8. The red-handed heroes of Garthan came next.

"Llanrotyon llofrutyeid garthan."

9. *Tyngyriawn* of the glorious destiny, no sticklers for peace,—

"Tyngyriawn tyghed oruolet
Ny charws tyngyr tagnevet."

10. *Gwyrriawn*, who fought at Camaun, and were fearless alike of the sword and the priestly ban,—

"Toryf ysgwn ys gnawd yg camaun
Taryf rac cad rag kwcewl uyrryawn."

They are alluded to as "Cadwryawn" in *Marwnad Cadwallawn* (159).

11. *Gweilchyaw*n, whose emblem was a hawk (*gwalch*), and whose territory lay in what was afterwards Upper Powys; for Cynddelw, in his ode to Gwenwynwyn, writes of "Gwalch gwenwynfalch gwenwynwyn".

12. The tribe of *Gwryaeth* Ysgoew, of the broken shield; for he, too, had fought at Garthan, and was fierce of onslaught in the field.

13. *Mynuddyaw*n, the fiery opponents of the stranger host,—

"Flam luchlam y luchlat estraun
Faw gynghyr fwyr wyr funudyawn."

14. *Arddunwawd*, the irresistible, who claimed de-

scent from Cyndrwyn, were the last of the series whom Cynddelw delighted to honour.

Of these fourteen Tribes it may suffice to remark, as indicating their antiquity, that they are not reckoned among either the two royal or the fifteen aristocratic tribes ordained by the Princes Gruffydd ap Cynan of Gwynedd, Rhys ap Tewdwr of Dyfed, and Bleddyn ap Cynvyn of Powys, after the diligent inquiry into family pedigrees instituted by them in the twelfth century. Nor does it appear that any of the known Welsh families claim descent from them, though there are many that trace back their pedigree to the Five Plebeian or Servile Tribes, "Pump Kystadlwylth or Costawglwylth Cymru", whom we may conclude to have been the descendants of a noble race, fallen through war or misfortune to an inferior position. These five were,—1, Y Blaidd Rudd o'r Gest in Eivionydd; 2, Addaf Fawr in Deheubarth; 3, Heilin Ysteilfforch; 4, Alo in Powys; 5, Gwenwys in Powys.

From the two last many families in the west and south-west parts of this county claim descent; but the tribe which, through all the vicissitudes of fortune, maintained the first rank in Powysland, was that of Brochwel Ysgythrog, of whom there are still some few descendants; and next to them rank those of Tudor Trevor and Elystan (Glodrydd).

It may seem to some, perhaps, that these statements are but fanciful assumptions, and that the authority on which they are based is not deserving of credit. Having myself been once of that opinion, I can easily understand the objections; but as a convert to the *general* reliableness of our early pedigrees, I may briefly state that I have been led to that belief by the following considerations laid down in the Preface to Lewis Dwnn, and confirmed by my own researches:

1. The Welsh laws required nine descents to render a man a free native, and to enable him to claim real property, which descended, not as in feudal England, by heirship, but by the subdivisions of gavel-kind.

2. The penalty for murder, fines and payments, were distributed to the ninth degree of relationship.

3. The "Arwydd Feirdd", or Herald Bards, had this special duty as their office, to attend to pedigrees.

4. In the *Marwnad*, or Elegy, it was customary to trace back the ancestry for eight generations, and to notice the collateral branches.

5. These were repeated, a month after the funeral, in the presence of the relatives, and they were collated and re-arranged, triennially, at the "Cylch Clerwr", or Circuit of the Bards.

6. The pedigree was a guarantee for national rights, for birth and education, and stamped its possessor, in whatever circumstances of fortune he might be, as a gwr *Boneddig*, i.e., a gentleman with a *bonedd*, a pedigree.

Contemporary, it would seem, with the "Gwelygorddeu", and handed down to us in the poems of the same bard, Cynddelw, were the *Breiniau Gwyr Powys* (the Privileges of the Men of Powys). They appear, like the Gwelygorddeu, to have been connected specially with Meigen; to date from the time of Selyf, the son of Cynan, in the middle of the seventh century; and to have been acquired in the wars with the Lloegrians,

"Canaon Selyf seirff cadeu Meigen.

"Pedeir kynnelyf cadw cadyr wrten
Ar dec yr dugant o neigen."

They relate to matters military, civil, and social, and seem to bear the same relation to Powys that the *Breiniau Gwyr Arfon* did to Gwynedd. Freely rendered, they appear to be as follows:

1. *Freedom from Ebediw* (heriot) when the death occurred in the field, in the presence of the Prince,—

"Ni thelir o wir o wreitrwyd breisg
A brwysgaw yn rotwyd
Ebediw gwr briw braw dygwyd
Yn dyt brwydr rac bron y arglwyd."

2. The men of Powys, being the chief jurors of Wales

("penreith ar Gymry"), will not allow or submit to injustice when they have wrought devastation and handled the third of the spoil. This may allude to the arrangement by which quarrels between Gwynedd and Dyfed were to be arbitrated upon by the Prince of Powys at Bwlch y Pawl in Mawddwy.

3. Their portion of the spoil from the hard-fought conflict embraces an equality of honour, and a special gift of gold, a hawk, and a bugle-horn :

"Dioval anrec anrhydedd cyfartal
Eur hybarch hebauc a bual."

4. They stand resolutely side by side in battle ; well armed are they, and hard to withstand.

5. Mead-loving warriors, they keep guard over the royal hearth.

6. The men of Argoed, who have been a defence against the Lloegrians, uphold the *brother's* right, and acknowledge not a sister's claim to inheritance. This would distinguish them from the Picts and the earlier Britons, who admitted women as their rulers. Hence we find no Boadiceas, no Cartismanduas, no queens, among the Powysians.

7. Their word is confirmed over the golden bowl, in court of law, and under every difficulty. If the term "lledcawt", which occurs here and in the Privileges of the men of Arvon ("nad yfont ledcawt") is rightly translated in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* as "stinted measure", then we may infer that they acted on the principle that wine unlocks the heart, "in vino veritas". The Welsh term for drunkard (*meddwyn*) itself originally implies merriness over the mead, and has its counterpart in the expression, "Glan meddwdod mwyn." But it may bear special reference, in its origin, to the treachery of the "Long Swords", and be a call to sincerity, just as "drinking to your health" did among the English.

8. The men of Powys lead the van in battle, and close the rear in retreat,—

"Ym blaen caden cadw arvod
Ac yn ol diwetwyr dyvod."

Compare with this, "Madawc uab Maredud arglwyd Powys a dewissawd y le y bebillaw rwg llu y brenhin a llu Owain ual y gallei erbyniet y kyrcheu kyntaf a wnelei y brenhin." ("Brut y Tywysogion" in *Myv. Arch.*, p. 626 b.)

9. On a successful expedition they admit not of friend or captive turning back to say farewell.

10. In forming a station the "gorsedd" must be free, and no steward or bailiff found there.

"Gwrthodes rywyr righyllaeth."

And so the men of Arvon, "Na bo rigyl yndi." Just as Caractacus reminded his soldiers that they had been "majorum virtute vacui a securibus et tributis."

11. They support not the lawless, nor distribute the huntsman's share.

12. The men of Argoed are exempt from the service of the van and the rear,—

"Nas gofwy gordwy na gortin."

13. Powys possesses its own courts and public officers.

"Powys peves cyrt a chyhoet."

The language of these stanzas is, as has been already stated, obscure, and its exact meaning uncertain; but it is unploughed ground; and if I have mistaken the exact meaning I trust I may, nevertheless, help to a truer interpretation. But should the ideas have been rightly caught, it will be something to have contributed ever so little to the elucidation, at this, our Cambrian gathering in Powysland, of so distant and obscure a period of its history.

D. R. T.

Aug. 27, 1879.

THE BOUNDARY OF HEREFORDSHIRE TEMP. HENRY III.

THE document which follows is interesting as it shows the extent of the county of Hereford before the alterations made in it by the Stat. 27 Henry VIII, c. 26. The places named may readily be identified with Ludlow, Ashford, the river Teme, Little Hereford, Rochford, Whitborne, Cradley, Storridge, Colwall; Malvern, Eastnor, Glynch Brook, Haffield, Bromesberrow, Dymock, Kempsey, Marcle, Oxenhall, Linton, Aston Ingham, Longhope, the Lea, Hope Mansell, Walford, rivers Wye and Monnow, the three Castles (Grosmont, Skenfrith, and White Castle), Ewyas Harold, Straddle, Dulas Brook, Brilley, Elvael (formerly a cantred, and now a lordship in Radnorshire), Michaelchurch on Arrow, and Gladestry in the same county. Ruggeditch seems to be the mound or earthwork which ran across the valley, and formed there the Welsh boundary of the parish of New Radnor. It may be still seen on the right hand side of the turnpike road to Penybont. In the Ordnance Survey it is named "Bankditch". At the time of the *Domesday Survey* New Radnor formed part of Herefordshire. The parishes of Old and New Radnor were at a very early period part of the diocese of Hereford. They are mentioned in Pope Nicholas' *Taxation* (1291) as in the deanery of Leominster. St. Michael (Michaelchurch) is there included in the deanery of Weobley. Although these three parishes were transferred by the 27th of Henry VIII, c. 26, to form part of the county of Radnor, they remained part of the see of Hereford. Gladestry is not mentioned in *Domesday*. In the *Taxation* it forms part of the deanery of Elvael, in the diocese of St. David's. It appears to have been part of the territory of the Mortimer family in the time of Edward III, and it was directed by the Statute of

27th Henry VIII to thereafter form a part of the then created county of Radnor.

"Legha" is probably (judging from its position between the river Lug and Wigmore) Willey. Lega, or Lege, occurs in the Herefordshire of *Domesday*. Ralph de Mortimer is there said to have fifty-seven acres of land and a whole wood in Lega, a manor of Griffith. Referring to the lands of Griffith, son of Meredith, in Hezetre Hundred, we find that Griffith held Lege, which Earl William Fitz-Osborn gave to Griffith's father, King Meredith; and mention is again made that Ralph de Mortimer held fifty-seven acres of land and a wood within it. Lege, in *Domesday*, forms the termination of several names of places, of which it may suffice to name Herdeslege, Willaueslege, Tittlege, now Eardisley, Willersley, and Titley. Lege, situated as it was on the Welsh border, may at a later period have been called, by way of distinction, Wealh-Lege or Leag,—a district in which a particular law or custom was in force. "Pullelit" is Pilleth; "Dunton", Downton. The word "cundos", in reference to Storridge and Malvern, may be either a corruption of the law Latin *bunda* (a boundary), or of *condate*, a mediæval Latin word signifying the confluence of two rivers, or *cumbas* (valleys).

The extract has been carefully compared, by Messrs. Stuart Moore and Kirk, with the original Roll.

R. W. B.

INQUISITIONS POST MORTEM.

Ex bundello incerti temp. Regis Henrici III. No. 154.

"Inquisitio facta de divisio comitatus Hereford per milites juratos qui dicunt quod hee sunt divise comitatus Apud Ludelawe subtus pontem per medietatem aque de Temete usque ad villam de Esford et inde ultra Temete parva Hereford et Rocheford citra Temete Et tota Wyteburn usque Merbroc Et tota Credeleg(e) per cundos de Storugge Et tota Colwalle per cundos de Malverina Et tota Estenenoure usque ad capud de Glench Et de Glench tota Hatfeld per terram de Bromelberge Et de Dimmoc usque ad Kenepeleg Et de Kenepeleg cum bosco et de

Marchel' usque ad Oxnehal' Et totus boscus de Lintona per quandam maram Et tota Estona usque ad terram de Longhope Et tota terra de la Le versus Hope Maloyssel et tota Hope Maloyssel Et tota Waulford usque ad Wayam et ultra Wayam ex alia parte usque Monam ubi Mona cadit in Wayam Et tria castra domini Justiciarii¹ cum pertinentiis suis et tota Ewyas Haraldi et tota Stradel usque ad divisas de Ewyas Lacy et usque Dene-lays cum Brademedewe usque ad divisas ejusdem Ewyas Et de Dunelays sicut descendit usque in Wayam Et de Waya usque ad divisas de Brunelege et de Elveil Et tota Seint Michel cum Brunelege Et Claudestre per divisas intra Elveil et Claudestre usque ad Ruggedich ultra Radenoure et de Rogedich usque in Luggam ex opposito de Pullelit Et sic per Luggam descendendo usque ad Legham et tota Legha Et de Legha de super Wiggem(ore) usque in rivulum qui descendit in Wildemore et de Wildemore per Temettam descendendo usque ad Dunton et tota Duntona per Temettam² Et de Dunton usque ad Asserug et de Asseruge usque ad pontem de Ludelawe."

Then follow presentments "De subtractionibus", of suit, etc., similar to those found in the Hundred Rolls.

HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION.

(Continued from p. 311, vol. ix.)

MISS CONWAY GRIFFITH'S CARREGLWYD MSS.

"(No. 583.) 10 Sept. 1636. An accompt of all my Receipts and Disbursements for or to y^e vse of my Brother Mr. Dr. Willm. Griffith Chauncellor of St. Asaph and Bangor from St. Peter's tide, viz., 29 June 1636, to the day aforesaid. Together with my charge at y^e beginning of this accompte.

"The Account of 'Disbursements towards his building at Carreg-lwyd' contains the following items illustrative of the remuneration of several kinds of labour in Anglesey in Charles the First's time :

¹ This refers, probably, to the custody of the three castles by Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justiciar, and so affords an approximate date for the inquisition, between 1218 and 1232.

² Struck out.

To Owen John Elmor, the joiner, for his worke for 49 dayes and a halfe at 12 <i>d.</i> p. diem	-	-	-	002	09	06
To Hugh ap the carpenter, and his boy, for their worke, viz., y ^e one for 58 dayes, and the other for 59, at 12 <i>d.</i> and 7 <i>d.</i> p. diem	-	-	-	004	12	05
To Parrie ap John ap William, the mason, for his 51 dayes worke at 18 <i>d.</i> p. diem	-	-	-	003	16	06
To three other masons for their work, viz., one for 53 dayes, the other for 54 dayes, and the third for 45 dayes, at 14 <i>d.</i> p. diem apiece	-	-	-	008	13	04
To James Foukes, the mason, for 54 dayes worke	-	-	-	001	07	00
To Owen ap Evan and his sonne for their worke, viz., the one for 17 and the other 14 dayes, at 6 <i>d.</i> and 2 <i>d.</i> p. diem apiece; and for 32 dayes dim. apiece at 12 <i>d.</i> and 8 <i>d.</i> p. diem, besides 12 <i>d.</i> they had for Bearage for their first weekes work w ^{ch} was bestowed	-	-	-	003	17	04
To Rees ap Howell for 66 dayes worke in burning of lyme, at 10 <i>d.</i> p. diem	-	-	-	002	15	00
To 15 Latourers for their seuerall worke, at 6 <i>d.</i> p. diem apiece, saving 4, wch were 5 <i>d.</i> per diem	-	-	-	015	15	00

"(No. C. 186.) Hilary term, 1636. Copy of Sir Thomas Holland's affidavit in the Court of Exchequer, respecting the course of the river Kefney, co. Anglesey, and injury done to him by Richard Bulkley of Bewmares, and Thomas Cheadle his under-tenant, who have stayed and diuerted the said river by means of a stagne placed across and athwart the stream, contrary to the engagement made by them seven years since, when the complainant first had recourse to the Court of Exchequer for protection in this matter. This dispute had its origin thirty years before, when Sir Richard Bulkeley, Knight, grandfather of the aforementioned Richard Bulkeley, constructed a 'stagne' in the river, and was indicted for so doing, in the Great Sessions for Anglesey, by the deponent. Several of the legal papers of the collection have reference to this cause of quarrel and litigation arising therefrom.

"(No. B. 306.) 26 Nov. 1636. Inspeximus of proceedings in a suit, Prytherch v. Holland, in the Court of the Council of the Marches of Wales, whereby the plaintiff, Richard Prytherch of Mevirian, co. Anglesey, Esq., sought to establish his right to a certain way in Treviriwth, leading from his ancient dwelling-house and estate over the lands of Sir Thomas Holland, Knight, of Berrowe in the same county, with the depositions of several witnesses in the suit; and also with the decision of the Council of the said Marches, which was in the plaintiff's behalf; leave, however, being granted to the defendant to have the case tried and decided by Nisi Prius, within the county of Salop, within the space of two years; after which time, should he neglect to avail himself of the privilege thus accorded to him, he must

abide by the aforesaid judgment of the Court of the Marches of Wales.

"(No. 44.) 8 Nov. 1636. General synod of all the clergy of the diocese of Bangor, held and celebrated by Edmund, by the Divine Providence Bishop of Bangor, on above-named day. The list contains the names of all the clergy present, with their respective offices, preferments, and cures.

"(No. 812.) 15th of December 1636. Writ from the Council in the Marches of North Wales to underwritten officers within the Principality and Marches, for the apprehension of Katherine Lloyd and Robert ap William ap William, who are to be brought as 'rebellis' before the said Council.

"(No. A. 987.) 3 July 1637. The humble petition of Edward Moris, of Llansilin, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, praying that he may be dismissed out of the Court of High Commission, where he 'is questioned for settinge up a seate in the chancell of the said parish church, which was formerly pulled down by the churchwardens of the said parish by order of Dr. William Griffith, the chauncellor of the lord Bushoppe of St. Assaphen'. The petitioner urges in justification of his action in thus replacing the pew, that Dr. Griffith had ordered the churchwardens to restore it when he had ascertained that 'the seat was in no way prejudiciall eyther to the standyng of the communion table alterways, or to eny other part of the said chancell'. The petition is referred by the Primate to Dr. Griffith for proper examination and treatment.

"(No. C. 168.) 28 Sept. 1639. Return of an inquisition held on a writ of "diem clausit extremum", at Beaumaris, co. Anglesey, respecting the estates of Arthur Bagenall, deceased.

"(No. 773.) 20 Feb. 1640. Letter, obscurely worded, on some affair of business, from John Bishop of St. Asaph ("Joh. Asaphen.") to his 'right worshipfull and his very loving cosen Dr. Griffith, chauncellor of St. Asaph and Bangor.'

"(No. C. 44.) 9 Feb. 1641. Forty-four sheets of a mutilated copy of the petition presented to the Right Hon. William Viscount Say and Seale, one of His Majesty's Privy Council, and Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, in behalf of Nicholas Bagenall, a minor, son of Arthur Bagenall, deceased, who was elder son of Sir Henry Bagenall, 'knt. and marshall of the kingdome of Ireland'. Only the opening pages are preserved of this petition, which is a strong *ex parte* statement of the intercourse between Sir Henry Bagnall and the Hollands of Berow, in which Sir Henry (who lived habitually in Ireland, and was imperfectly acquainted with his interests in Eskiviock and other parts of North Wales) is represented to have been outwitted and over-

reached in various bargains by the Hollands, who, as resident proprietors keenly alive to their interests, were still persisting in a course prejudicial to the said minor. Having set forth several more substantial injuries done to the estate of the minor, the petitioners urge,—‘And the said Sir Thomas Holland hath erected seates or pues in the chauncell of Eskeiviog church; the same places where he soe erected the saide seates beinge, and all or most parte of the saide chancell belonginge to the saide Nicholas Bagenall and his ancestors, as well as in regard of his and theire ranke and quallity, as in the right of the saide seuerrall messuages, tenements, and greate estates here, and they time out of memory hadd and haue in the saide parishe.’ It is further alleged that ‘of late, takinge advantage of the minority of the saide Nicholas Bagenall, Sir Thomas Holland of Berowe had, on some partial information, unduly procured from the Archbishop of Canterbury without any suite, and the see of Bangor beinge then full, within which the saide parish is, a faculty or license to breake downe the chauncell wall of the North side of the saide church, and there to erect a chappel for him the saide Sir Thomas Holland and his heires, to the disinherison of his Majesty’s warde, whoe hath right on the seate and sittinge-place adjoyninge and annexed to the saide wall so licensed to bee broken down, notwithstandinge the Bishopp of the diocese refused to grant any such license.

“(No. B. 307.) 13 Feb. 1642. Indenture, covering four large and closely written skins, of settlement of property belonging to Sir Thomas Holland, Knt., of Berow in the parish of Trevarthyn, co. Anglesey, and his nephew Owen Holland of the same places, made between the said Sir Thomas and Owen of the first part, and Piers Lloyd of Llygwy, co. Anglesey, Esq., John Gruffith the elder, of Llyu’n, co. Carnarvon, Esq., Owen Woode of Llangwyfen, co. Anglesey, Esq., Robert Wynne of Voylas, co. Denbigh, Esq., Hugh Wynne of Llanunda, co. Carnarvon, Esq., and Robert Wynne of Holyhead, co. Anglesey, of the second part: Whereby, in consideration of a marriage agreed upon between the said Owen Holland and Jane daughter of the said Piers Lloyd, and of the sum of £1,300 to be paid to them by the said Piers Lloyd as a marriage portion for his daughter, the said Sir Thomas and Owen convey to the persons of the second party, in trust for the purposes of the agreement, the manor-house and demesne of Berow aforesaid, with messuages, lands, tenements, etc., in the towns, fields, and hamlets of Bedfordd, Keneglwyys, Rhoscolyn, Caerdegoge, Mathewarne, Wyan, Pentraeth, Nanlynryva, Bodlen, Klynnoche, Vechan, Llanvaes, Bewmares, Swydryn, and elsewhere, together with all their ‘seates, sittinge, kneel-

inge, and buryinge places, easementes, commodities, and advantages, in the parish of Llanerhangel Eskeivioge in the said county of Anglesey, and all that chapel to the said church pertaining, and lately built by Sir Thomas Holland, and all the seates, sittinge, kneelinge, and buryinge places in the south side of the chancel of the said church, and all other seates, sittinge, kneelinge and buryinge places, etc., in the said church, or any other of the premises, etc., etc., used or enjoyed by the said Sir Thomas Holland or any of his auncestores.

"(No. B. 296.) 18th of Feb. 1642. Indenture of agreement between William Griffith of Carnethour, co. Anglesey, Doctor of Law, and Chancellor of the diocese of St. Asaph, of the first part, Robert Owen, son and heir apparent of John, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph, and Francis Owen of London, gentleman, of the second part, and the said Bishop of the third, whereby, 'in consideration of a marriage heretofore had and solemnized between him the said William Griffith and Mary his now wife, daughter of the said lord bishoppe of St. Asaph, and of the marriage portion of the said Mary', the said William Griffith conveys to the said Robert and Francis his mansion-house at Carnethour, with other estate of land in _____, for the benefit of his said wife and their issue.

"(No. 945.) 15 Aug. 1642. Letter from Hughe Johnes and William Thomas to Mr. Dr. Griffith at his house in Carnethor, co. Anglesea, respecting the death and last will of his uncle Hugh Owen.

"(No. A. 172.) 1642. Copy of the decree pronounced by Sir John Lambe, Doctor of Laws, and Judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury, dismissing, with costs, the petition of Sir Arthur Terringham, Knt., now deceased, and his wife, Lady Terringham, for the revocation of the faculty conceded to Sir Thomas Holland to build a chapel on the north side of the chancel of the church of Eskivioge.

"(No. A. 193.) 3 July 1643. Copy of the articles preferred in the Great Sessions of the county of Anglesea, against Arthur Michael, Roger Phillips, Simon David, William ap Jennr, and others, who are accused of riotous conduct in the parish church of Eskiviog.

"(No. A. 783.) 5 Oct. 1643. Writ to the High Sheriff and others of the county of Anglesea for the suppression of riotous meetings near the parish church of Eskiviog, and the apprehension of persons concerned in the disorderly assemblies.

"(No. A. 773.) 1 Dec. 1643. Last will of William Griffith, D.C.L., of Caernether, co. Anglesea. After making a general bequest of his household stuff to his wife, should there be no

necessity to sell it, or any part of it, for the payment of his debts, the testator adds, 'To this bequest of Household stuff my meaning is that my wife should have the vse of all during her life; but the propertie of all standards, together with all Bedsteeds, Tables, and Liurey Cubbord, I giue and bequeath to my heyre.' He appoints for executors his 'well beloved Brethren George Griffith of Llanymyneck in the county of Salop, Dr. of Divinity; John Griffith of Llanvaithlô in the county of Anglesey, cleark and Mr. of Arts; and Hugh Griffith of Caernetherr aforesaid, gent.'

"(No. A. 55.) Letter from the Commissioners of Array for the county of Anglesea, to a right honourable person (whose name does not appear), praying him to prevail on the King to follow the example of his royal predecessors, and 'exempte this island from any presse of men att his time'. This entreaty is provoked by the King's writ, lately directed to the said Commissioners, requiring them to 'presse and raise twoe hundred and fifty alle' (? able) 'men in this county for his majesty's service'. The petitioners ground their petition on the burdens they and their fellow-islanders bear, and the difficulties they encounter for the safe custody of an island which is exposed to the attacks of Irish rebels and the Parliamentary forces. 'First we are', they say, 'an island situat betweene Ireland and Lancashire, lyinge open and subject to invasion on all partes, beinge dayly robbed on our coaste by the rebbells of Ireland and parliamentary shippes, which are many in number att this time in Liuerpoole, and threaten dayly to invade and possesse themselves of this Island, being of the greatest consequence of any other place in these partes vnto them.' No date.

"(No. A. 786.) 21 Sept. 1645. Captain Hugh Griffith's memorandum of money received by him of the cessment made for the providing of 'new armes instead of those sent to Denbighshire, and repayment of the advance money then paid to the souldiers'.

"(No. 235.) 14 April 1644. Muster-roll of the 'Trayned Band of Tallybolion'.

"(No. 219.) 21 Feb. 1645. List of the soldiers selected from the Trained Band of the hundred of Talabolion, to serve in the force of 'sixteene able and sufficient fire-men of the trayned men and auxiliaries of each comott' of the county of Anglesea, appointed to guard the 'river of Menai'.

"(No. A. 883.) 21 Feb. 1645. Letter from John, Bishop of St. Asaph (signed 'John Asaphen.'), respecting the disturbances in and near Conway. The town is in a ferment; but the writer does not think it needful at present that his son and his correspondent's son should 'forsake the school' there.

"(No. A. 838.) 8 April 1645. Memorandum of the bequests made the day before her death by Mrs. Griffith, wife of William Griffith, Doctor of Laws, to her nearest kindred and servants. The legacies to her children are expressive of maternal tenderness. The lady's gifts to her servants are also characteristic: 'To Jane Stoddard, my painefull and carefull maid, I giue 5*li*. and the rest of my better sort of wearinge apparell. Some of my more ordinarie cloaths I desire should be given to my other maydes that haue taken paines with me. And to Elin Pugh, my children's nurse, I giue first the frize gown I now weare. To Mary Draycott, poor wench, 5*li*., besides her share of some of my cloathes.'

"(No. 232.) 12 Dec. 1645. Captain Hugh Griffith's 'accompt of Powder, Match, and Bullets, bought and received for the use of the Trained Soldiers of the Hundred of Tallybolion.'

"(No. 613.) Not dated. Draught of nine resolutions to be adopted by the gentlemen of Anglesey respecting the taxation of the island for the maintenance of the forces of the Parliament. '1. That the state was att no charge for the reduction of Anglesey, whereupon it may justly be desired that they contribute not for the reduction & payinge of the soldiery in other countiees. 2. That they of Anglesey have maintained the Parliament forces quartered in their countie, & payd them duly, without the helpe and assistance of any other countie, euer since their submission, though it were to the charge of a fift part of their yearly meanes generally. 3. That the gentlemen who mett at Denbigh had no commission from the countie to encrease the charge that layes heavy upon them, nor to consent to pay any proportion of the 1200*li*. mencioned, or to any greater proportion of troopers. 5. That they are ready to make paym't of the assessm't of their share of the 60,000*li*. as is required, however disproportionably soever, till the hon'ble houses relieve them. 6. That if there be any arrears due to the commaunders & soldiers, they may be payd out of their assessments of the 60,000*li*. 8. To have the garrison as much decreast as may be, the Island being of the nature of a garrison in itselfe, able to defend itselfe ag'st any ordinary invasion.'

"(No. 77.) Copy of the humble petition of the 'Gentry, Commons, and Inhabitants of the Iland of Anglessy in Northwales, To the right honourable the Lords and Commons of England assembled in Parliament at Westminster.—Sheweth, that euer since the warre began we haue made much preparation for a defensive posture to preserue the inoffensiue Iland from incursion of the Irish Rebels and other insolencies incident to warre, without any thought or ingagement to oppose the honourable

parliament, which we haue esteemed to be the onely meanes to preserve the churches peace and the subjects right. Neuertheles the king's partie appearinge amongst vs, and no particular invitation or protection from the parliament, we were necessitated to some compliance with them, yet with such caution and distance that we permitted not the Lord Byron, who was made gouernor of this Island by his Majestie, nor none of his forces, nor any els, to rest themselues, nor possess any strong hold at all amongst vs, being resolved vpon the firste opportunitie to render our obedience to the kinge and Parliament, which, after a solemn summons from Maior Generall Mytton, your honours most faithfull agent and chiefe commander in these partes, wee did seriously in seuerall publique meetinges debate and willingly and readily submitt vnto him, as may appeare by subscriptions vnder our hands to his commissioners employed in that service. However, since some particular distractions happened touchinge the surrender of Beaumaris Castle, which wee were no way off, but laboured and endeavoured to compose a reconciliation, as the Commissioners can testifie; in tender consideration and in regard of our vnanimous, constant resolution to remaine firme for Kinge and Parliament against all opposers, wee most humbly pray your honours dispensacion of delinquencies for the Island according to Maior Generall Mitton's mediation, and we shall ever pray for a blessinge vpon your honours vnwearied labours, which shall be recorded to all posteritie.' No date nor signatures.

"(No. A. 784.) May 1646. Copies of letters that passed between General Thomas Mytton and the Lord Bulkeley and other gentlemen of Anglesey. 1. General Mytton's demand, dated Carnarvon, 7 May 1646, that the gentlemen of the island comply with the Parliament, and surrender their garrisons to him for the service of the King and Parliament. 2. The reply of Lord Bulkeley and the said gentlemen to General Mytton's letter (dated Bewmares, 12 May 1646), urging that they have raised a force only to preserve peace and testify their obedience to the King, and requesting that they may send a gentleman, protected by the General's 'pass', to His Majesty. Signed by thirty-five gentlemen, including three of the family and name of Griffith. 3. General Mytton's letter (dated Carnarvon, 13th of May) enclosing a copy of an order which precludes him from allowing them to send one of their number to the King. 4. The copy of the said order: 'Whereas you intimate you have given a Passe to Sir William Byron and two servants to goe to the King, we desire that henceforth there may be noe passes granted to any of the enemy, vpon what pretence soever, we conceauing

that it may proue prejudiciall to the state. Signed in the name and by the warrant of the committee of both kingdomes, by your lovinge friends, P. Wharton, Charles Artkin.' Addressed to Colonnell Mytton, and dated Darby House, 24 April 1646.

"(No. 749.) May and June 1646. Copies of four letters that passed between General Mytton and the gentlemen of Anglesey. 1. Letter from the General requiring, amongst other things, that 'Beaumaris Castle and all other forts and garrisons in the said island be delivered into his hands.' Dated 26 May 1646, at Denbigh. 2. Reply to General Mytton from Lord Bulkeley and ten other gentlemen of the island, declaring their 'readiness to comply with the Parliament.' Dated 30 May, at Beaumares. 3. The letter to General Mytton, whereby the said gentlemen of Anglesey submit themselves to the King and Parliament, only renewing a former prayer for leave to send one or more gentlemen to speak for them at Westminster. Signed: Bulkeley, Rich: Prytherch, Wm: Griffith, John Bodwell, H: Owen, O: Woods, Row. Bulkeley, Ow: Holland, Hen: Owen, Ri: Owen Theodor, Wm. Bold. Dated 2 June 1646, at Llangefni. 4. General Mytton's answer to these two letters from the gentlemen of Anglesey, consenting that the said gentlemen may send a deputation to the Parliament at Westminster, and promising to use his influence with the Parliament in their behalf; but insisting that they immediately surrender Beaumaris Castle, or be prepared for a siege of the said Castle, to cover the costs of which their estates shall be confiscated.

"(No. A. 568.) 13th of May 1646. Letter from General Thos. Mytton to Lord Bulkeley and the rest of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the island of Anglesey. 'Gentlemen, I received yours verie late last night, in answere whereto I thought fitt to send this bearer with theis lines, and to deale plainly with you. I feare by your answere and acciouns in receiving those that come vnto you out of the towne of Carnarvon, and releuenge of them, you will bring miserie vpon your selves, it being no lesse then open hostilitie against the Parliament, the great counsell of the land, which I must endeavour, as much as in me lyeth, by all meanes to prevente, it being also repugnant to that parte of your answere, whereby you conceaue your selves, by your demeanour, to giue no just cause of offence. As for your desire to haue a passe fur a gent. To goe to the king, were it for your good, and in my power, I should withall readilie grant it. But giue me leaue to acquaint you that the disafeccioun of the king to the kingdomes and churches cause, by reason of the euill counsellors that were and are about him, hath brought vpon vs all theis miseries, and therefore for you to send vnto him will

tender you enemies to the State. But I conceaue that parte of your answeare was deuised by some of those forenamed counselours that are by God's greate power beaten out of all the rest of the kingdome into your Island, undone all places by the way wherein they came, which I desire you seriously and with all speede to consider. That it lieth not in my power to grant you such a passe, I haue sent you the enclosed, which I desire you to send me by bearer, noe way doubting but it will satisfie you therein. Gentlemen, I haue been somewhat tedious; but it proceeds from my desire to saue shedding of blood and the ruine of your countrie, which you will surely bringe upon yourselves if you persist in your way, I being commanded by the Parliament to endeavour the reducing of all such places and persons into their obedience in those partes that stand out against them; and I beleeve you cannott be ignorant of the power God hath put into their hand by blessing theire vnwearied, pious endeavours for this his cause.—Carnarvon, 13th of May 1646.'

"(No. 782.) 4 January. 'Letter from the Committee of the Lords and Commons for the Army, to the Commissioners for raisinge the monthly assessment for the army in the counties of Northwales', accompanying the Parliamentary order of 24 Dec. for disbanding the forces under Major-General Mytton's command, with the exception of certain companies specially mentioned in the letter.

"(No. C. 97.) — 1646 and 1647. 'A Noate shewing how much corne hath beene threshed (*i.e.*, at Berow) this yeare, 1646. Beginning the tenth day of October 1646.' Similar note for the year 1647.

"(No. 762.) 25 Jan. 1647. Instructions signed at Denbigh by E. Vaughan, Sym. Thellwall, Jo. Jones, to Mr. Hugh Courtney. The first of the instructions runs thus: 'Inprimis, you are with all possible speed to repaire to London, and make your addresse to the Committee of the Army for the supply of disbanding money for North Wales. And likewise to his Excellency and the Speaker of the House of Commons, for the same end. You are likewise to repaire to the Gentlemen that serue for North Wales, for theyr assistance in this negotiation.'

"(No. C. 320.) 1647. Single sheet of a deposition made in writing by Owen Holland as defendant in a suit arising out of Sir Thomas Holland's purchase of Sir Henry Bagnall's interest in the crown lands of Eskeiviog, from which it appears that Sir Henry Bagnall died shortly before the month of January, 19 Jac. I; and that Sir Thomas Holland had died at some date subsequent to the day of October 1643, when he made and declared his last will and testament.

"(No. 614.) 2 Feb. 1647. Much moth-eaten. 'Certain Heads of Proposals to be offered to the Gentlemen of Northwales for y^e speedie effecting y^e worke of Disbanding, by the Members of Parliament appointed to attend the said service at Ruthen.' On the other side of the sheet appears (dated 3 Feb.) the proposals of the Commissioners appointed to assess 60,000*li.* on the counties of North Wales, for raising 'by way of voluntary advance from particular persons in each county', the sum of 6,220*li.* and 1,200*li.*, by which sums the fund raised by the assessment falls short of the required 60,000*li.* The proportions of the 6,200*li.* assigned to the several counties are as follow: Denbighshire, 1,492*li.*; Montgomeryshire, 1,492*li.*; Carnarvonshire, 998*li.*; Anglesey, 746*li.*; Flintshire, 746*li.*; Merionethshire, 746*li.*

"(No. A. 40.) 8 Jan. 1648. Appointment by Magdalen Tyringham, sister of Gruffith Bagenall, Esq., deceased, of William Bold and Henry Wynne, Esqs., co. Anglesey, and cousins of the said Magdalen, Mr. Thomas Williams, his brother Mr. Lewis Thomas, and Mr. John Gybbard, to enter upon the moiety of the township of Eskeivioge, and take the rents, etc., formerly pertaining to Gruffith Bagenalle for life.

"(No. 668.) Writ of summons to the 'right worshipfull Hugh Williams, D.D., to appear before the right worshipfull Sir John Lambe, Knt., doctour of Law and Judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury, or his deputy, in the parish church of St. Bowe, London, on the eighth day after service, &c., to answere to certaine articles concerninge your supine neglecte in serveinge of the cure of soules of the parishe of Llanddynam.'

"(No. 788.) Letter addressed by William Lenthall, Speaker, to Mr. Thelwall, Mr. Edward Vaughan, and Colonel Jones, members of the House of Commons, and ordered 'to bee communicated to the committees for raiseing the monethely assessments in the seuerall counties of North Wales.' No date.

"(No. A. 785.) 27 June 1653. Warrant to levy an assessment of 223*li.* 7*s.* 4*d.* in the hundred of Menay, 'towards the maintenaunce of the armies and navies of the commonwealth.'

"(No. A. 648.) 15 Oct. 1656. The petition of John Trevor of Trevor, co. Denbigh, to the Hon. Lord Bradshaw, Chief Justice of Chester, Flint, Denbigh, etc., praying for the appointment of a day for the hearing of the petitioner's cause, to be tried before his Lordship at 'this present greate Sessions in the county of Denbigh.' With underwritten appointment of a day. Signed 'Jo. Bradshawe, Tho. Fell.'

"23 April 1656. Bill in Chancery, of Richard Stacy, shoemaker, in the parish of St. Martin's in the Fields, against Owen Holland and Arthur Bulkeley of the county of Anglesey, in

which the plaintiff asserts his title to certain lands, etc., in the township of Cardegoge and elsewhere in co. Anglesey, formerly belonging to his maternal grandfather, Arthur Williams, late of Llanbadrig, co. Anglesey, gentleman, and alleges that he is fraudulently excluded from his said inheritance by the aforementioned Owen Holland, Arthur Bulkeley, and others.

"(No. B. 117.) 7 October 1656. Tallabolion, co. Anglesey. 'A True and Perfect Rentrowle of the Chiefe Rent (in Welch, *Cyllid*) of the Commotte of Tallabolion aforesayd, for one whole year, made at Llanvairynhornwy in the sayd commotte, the seaventh day of October in the grace of our Lord God 1656.'

"(No. C. 174.) 1663. Copy of interrogatories 'ministed for the examinaciouns of witnesses on the parte and behaulfe of Thomas Holland, esq., plaintiff, against Robert Lord Bulkeley, Viscount Cassells in Ireland, defendant.'

"(No. C. 177.) 1663. Bill of Complaint to the Hon. Timothy Littleton, 'Sarjeant att Lawe', and Thomas Jones, Esq., His Majesty's Justices of the Great Sessions, cos. Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, by Thomas Holland of Berrw, an infant aged seventeen years (prosecuting by his mother, Jane Holland, a widow), alleging that wrong has been done him in respect to the boundary of his estate in Eskiviog and adjoining parishes, by Robert Lord Viscount Bulkeley, of Barnhill in the same county, grandson of Sir Richard Bulkeley the elder, of Bewmares, Knt., deceased. The bill recites the deeds by which the complainant's great-grandfather, Owen Holland, acquired the property in Eskiviog, and sets forth with sufficient clearness the several stages of the long-enduring controversy between the two neighbouring families respecting the bounds of their estates.

"(No. C. 163.) 23 Sept. 1663. Copy of bill filed on the above-named day in the same suit, with the defendant's answer.

"(No. C. 176.) 3 Oct. 1663. 'The Answere of Robert Lord Buckley, Viscount Cassiles in Ireland, Defendant to the Bill of Complaint of Thomas Holland, esq., an Infant, by Jane Holland, widowe, his mother and guardian, complainant', filed on above-named day.

"(No. B. 80.) 7 September 1663. Commission of John Griffith, gent. (by the appointment of Sir Richard Vaughan, Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales and Marches thereof), to be 'cornet to Captaine Thomas Bulkeley his troope in the militia of horse raised, or to be raised, within the county of Anglesey in Northwales, in the regiment of which the right honorable Edward lord Herbert of Cherbury is colonel', under Lord Carbery's command.

"(No. C. 8.) 28th of Jan. 1663. Part of the memorandum of

an agreement whereby George Griffith, D.D., Bishop of St. Asaph, and brother of the late William Griffith, Doctor of Laws, consents to accept, in annual instalments of 100*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, payment from his nephew John (son and heir of the said William, deceased) of the sum of 603*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*, which he, the said Bishop, has provided at divers times for the use and benefit of the said nephew during his minority; and whereby the said Bishop engages to take up a sum of 200*l.*, on which the said John Griffith stands indebted to Edward Cotton of the town of Salop. Provided that the nephew gives his uncle sufficient security in land for the payment of the said sums.

"(No. A. 525.) Sept. 1664. Last will of Jane Griffith, *alias* Wood, 'the now wife of John Griffith of Caernether, co. Anglesey.'

"(No. B. 224.) 17th of July 1666. Commission of John Griffith of Carreg Lwyd to be a deputy-lieutenant for co. Anglesey by the appointment of the Earl of Carbery, Lord President of Wales and the Marches.

"(No. C. 236.) 9 July 1668. 'A Perfecte rentrolle of Mr. Owen Holland's late lands as they were sett in his time, and how they are now sett', from which it appears that most of the tenants on Mr. Holland's estate paid their rents in money, presents, and service. For instance, Evan ap Roberts held his tene-ment at the yearly rent, in money, of 7*l.* 10*s.*; in presents, of four geese, two capons; and in service, of two days' harrowing, two days' reaping, two days of carrying corn. In like manner, Hugh ap William John held Tythin Clay at a yearly rent of 6*l.* in money, of two capons and a hundred red herrings in presents, and of six days of mason's work in service.

"(No. 798.) 28 Sept. 1668. Warrant from John Griffith of Caernether (His Majesty's fee-farmer of the township of Caerdegog, co. Anglesey) to his bailiffs, Rees Jones and Owen ap Richard David, of Llanvaithley, to collect the King's 'chiefe rents' and pay them into the Exchequer, or to His Majesty's Receiver-General for North Wales.

"(No. 800.) 28 Nov. 1668. Treasury Warrant, bearing the signatures of Albemarle, Ashley, and Clifford, to the Commissioners of Assessments, co. Anglesey, for the immediate levying of the eleven months' tax, 'lest any trouble or doubt should arise amongst the Commissioners of the county of Anglesey whether the same can be assessed after the first of February next.'

"(No. 517.) 16 May 1678. Warrant signed by Deputy-Lieutenants of the Isle of Anglesey, for levying money by rate, wherewith to provide ammunition for the forces of the island, and afford encouragement to the inferior officers of the said forces.

"(No. 518.) 18 Jan. 1678. Warrant for the same purpose, for money to be levied in the hundred of Tallabollion.

"(No. 519.) No date. 'A returne of the comott. of Tallabolion', according to the contents of the Deputy-Lieutenants' warrants, giving the number of the arms formerly charged upon the hundred.

"(No. 237.) No date. 'A list indented of the trained bande of the Comott of Tallabolion in the countie of Anglesey, and the names of the captain and officers of the bande.'

"(No. C. 203.) 'Anglizey: Com. Talabalion. A List of the Trained Band of the said Commote, with the names of the officers of the said band.' No date.

"(No. 218.) 'Talabolion: Account of the Powder to be delivered to the Trained souldiers of the said hundred.' No date."

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS.

SIR,—I have only just received Part V of *Lapidarium Walliæ*, and owing to some mistake I have not had Parts I, II, and III, sent me. With reference to the note, p. 239, Supplemental Additions and Corrections, Part V, at the Carmarthen Meeting I promised Prof. Westwood to make every possible inquiry respecting "Paul's Marble"; and I did so in vain for some time. Being, however, removed from Carmarthen to Llangadoc, I had better facility for searching. Calling at Cilgwyn one day I incidentally mentioned the supposition that there was an inscribed stone of some importance in the neighbourhood, whereupon there was most kindly produced for my inspection a "fac-simile" of the inscription, taken in 1825, which certainly has the appearance of being a modern hoax. Major Pearson, with his usual kindness, shewed me the stone from which the fac-simile was taken. It stands in front of Cilgwyn House. It has apparently no inscription, and is a moderately sized monolith. Upon inquiry Major Pearson found that it had been removed from another part of J. P. Gwynne Holford's, Esq., estate, near Mothvey, in the year mentioned in the margin of the supposed fac-simile; and that some gold ornaments found under it, together with a duplicate of the fac-simile, were sent to the British Museum. The stone, when removed to Cilwyn, was placed upside down; and of the inscription (whatever it may be) it is thus impossible to ascertain the true nature by the usual process of a rubbing, as the letters are on that part of the stone which is underground.

I am, etc.,

Llangadoc. 23 Oct. 1879.

AARON ROBERTS,
V. Llangadoc.

Miscellaneous Notices.

EDWARD LLWYD. THE WELSH AISLE OF ST. MICHAEL'S, OXFORD.—This aisle is the south one, and appropriated apparently to the members of Jesus College, which is situated in the parish. Edward Llwyd, the distinguished antiquarian, and author of *Archæologia Britannica*, was buried in it in 1709. He had previously been elected Superior Beadle in Divinity, after a vigorous contest, by a majority of seventy-one votes, and was apparently not a resident in the College, although he had matriculated there in 1682. Does any monument to his memory now exist? None certainly was erected for more than twenty years after his death; so that to ascertain the exact situation of his grave is hopeless. He seems to have been badly treated by the subscribers to his *Archæologia*, for although at first his proposals met with great encouragement, yet he soon found out that promises and performances were different things, for many of his pretended friends were mean enough to refuse payment of what they had expressly engaged for. It is said that the same meanness is not unknown in Wales, especially in subscriptions to publishing societies. B. A.

FENTON'S *Pembrokeshire*.—Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire* is an amusing and useful volume, although rather abounding in something like local gossip, and sometimes incorrect as to historical facts. Thus, in searching out the site of Menapia, which he thought was concealed beneath the sands of the Burrows, he mentions a farmhouse called "Carawswdick", which he conjectures might be the birthplace, or a favourite haunt, of the great Menapian Carausius. He was not, I believe, the father of the myth that this man, destined to become a Roman emperor, was born near St. David's. He however, firmly believed the story, and was ignorant that there was another Menapia lying between the Scheldt and the Meuse. Carausius probably never was in Pembrokeshire. The contributor of the article, "St. David's", in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* repeats the same story of Carausius. Some have even questioned the existence of Menapia at all, it being only mentioned by Richard of Cirencester. But whatever his authority may be, there can be no doubt that the next station, *Ad Vicesimum*, has been identified by Fenton and others. At least at that spot still remains a Roman encampment, the ground of which is full of Roman brick. But even were the Romans ever stationed at Menapia, it does not follow that Carausius was ever there.

D. F. C.

THE PARCAU STONE.—In the valuable and important work, *Lapidarium Walliæ*, which the veteran and energetic Professor West-

wood has lately presented to the public, will be found an account of the Parcau Stone, the true reading of which has been settled to be

QVENVENDAN—

FILI BARCVN—

But as to who Barcunus was no conjecture has been offered. On the road from St. David's to Penarthar is or was a place called "Trefarchan", and which Fenton states he had seen in old deeds described as "Villa Barcani". Barcunus and Barcanus may be considered the same name. They are certainly both Roman names, and show how far the Romans had made their way into the west of Wales. Perhaps other traces of this name may yet be found in this part of South Wales.

B. C. L.

La Revue Celtique.—We are requested to inform the subscribers to this valuable periodical, that owing to the new postal facilities the subscription-price to the *Revue*, for the British Isles, will be reduced to 18s. The subscription to be sent on or before the first day of March, by an international money-order, to be had at any money-order post-office, to M. Vieweg, bookseller, 67, Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

EDITOR.

Reviews.

REVUE CELTIQUE.

THE first number of vol. 4 has come to hand, and we congratulate the learned Editor on its success. The two most important contributions are on "Les Dieux de la Cité des Allobroges" (Vienne), by M. Florent Valentine, and "Comment le Druidism a disparu", by M. Fustel de Coulanges.

M. Valentine informs us that of the numerous monuments in that part of France once occupied by the Allobroges, seventeen have been rescued from oblivion. This district comprises the region lying between the Rhone and the Alps, Lake Lemane and the river Isère. When the Romans became masters of this part of Gaul, they made Vienne the capital, and their headquarters; and the first thing done, when they took possession of a district, was to reduce the various indigenous cults to their own religious system, which was effected by giving the names of Roman gods to the local ones, although they permitted the continuance of their peculiar rites. In time the Roman element in this Gallo-Roman religion so far prevailed that the indigenous deities were lost sight of under their new appellations. The names, however, of some of the local deities are fortunately known from inscriptions. Thus, of the seventeen recorded, we are informed that seven may be considered as common to the rest of Gaul, the remainder being strictly localised to the country of the Allobroges. Of the former, which are called national deities, only one seems to be known in Wales, namely Caturix, if that name may be connected with Caturigi. Bormo and Bormanna

are names found at Aix-les-Bains, and are said to be the deities of places where medicinal and warm baths exist. No trace, however, of the name is found in England, not even in Bath. Of the names of the local gods no vestige, we believe, has been found in these islands.

The other article accounts for the disappearance of Druidism from Gaul. The apparent contradiction of the statements of Pliny and Suetonius, that Tiberius and Claudius had extinguished that religion, with the fact that Druids existed until the time of Vespasian (if the authority of the same Pliny and that of Tacitus is accepted), is explained by M. Fustel de Coulanges by supposing that the two earlier emperors put an end to the more barbarous Druidic rites, but permitted the ordinary exercise of their religion as long as that exercise did not interfere with Roman laws and interests. Thus, up to Cæsar's time great periodical assemblies of the Druids were held; but after that date nothing more is heard of them. Even the Arch-Druid elected by the body of the Druids and the people is not heard of after this time; and it is probable that if, in after times, so important an election took place, some notice of it would be found in later writers; but no such notice exists,—a circumstance which makes it probable that for political reasons the Roman authorities forbade such meetings. It is remarkable that no Christian documents, no acts of Councils, mention Druidism as in existence; and if the name of Druid occurs in two of the fathers, the context shews that all they knew about Druids was from previous writers. The heathen gods, against whom the Church fought so strenuously, were, Jupiter, Venus, and Minerva, etc., Romanised Gaulish deities; against Hésus, Teutales, and Belen, no similar war was proclaimed. Among the Gaulish superstitions attacked, no traces of their veneration for the oak and mistletoe are found, while as late as the eighth century the Church strove against certain cults, as the worship of fountains, stones, trees, etc.; but these superstitions are not necessarily of Druidic origin, and may have been connected with Roman or Germanic polytheism. Some superstitions have always been, and still are, common, more or less, to all barbarous races.

Our author comes, then, to two conclusions. First, that the Romans, in proscribing the sanguinary sacrifices, and in breaking up the organisation of the Druidic priesthood, did not interfere with the Druids themselves, no longer formidable after their disestablishment. Secondly, that Druidism gradually grew out of fashion, and its various ordinances and tenets no longer existed in the later days of the empire. If these facts and arguments are admitted, the question arises, Whence do our Druids of the present day derive their authority for their practices? On this point there may be disagreement of opinions; but there can be none as to the fact that it has nothing to do with real Druids and genuine Druidism.

We again congratulate M. Gaidoz on this latest number of his Review.

Cambrian Archaeological Association.

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

WAS HELD AT

WELSHPOOL

ON

MONDAY, AUGUST 25TH, 1879, AND FOLLOWING DAYS.

PRESIDENT.

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN, Esq., M.P.

THE arrangements were under the management of the following
Local Committee :

CHAIRMAN.

W. T. PARKER, Esq., MAYOR OF WELSHPOOL.

The Mayor and Corporation
Sudeley, Right Hon. Lord
Hanbury-Tracy, Hon. F. H., M.P.
Leighton, Stanley, Esq., M.P.
Barrett, T. B., Esq.
Bennet, Nicholas, Esq.
Corbett, Major
Evans, Rev. Canon W. Howell
Fisher, W., Esq.
Ffoulkes, Ven. Archdeacon
Harrison, R. J., Esq.
Harrison, G. D., Esq.
Howell, Abraham, Esq.
Howell, David, Esq.
Howell, W. M., Esq.
Humphreys-Owen, A. C., Esq.

Jones, R. E., Esq.
Jones, M. C., Esq., F.S.A.
Jones, Charles, Esq.
Jones, Edward, Esq.
Lloyd, J. Y. W., Esq.
Lewis, Rev. D. P.
Miller, S., Esq.
Morris, E. R., Esq.
Mytton, Captain
Powell, S., Esq.
Rendell, Stuart, Esq.
Roberts, Askew, Esq.
Temple, Rev. R.
Williams, Rev. Canon R.
Williams, Richard, Esq.
Wilding, W., Esq.

Local Treasurer.

P. A. Beck, Esq.

Local Secretaries.

Rev. J. E. Hill, Vicarage, Welshpool
Rev. D. R. Thomas, Meifod Vicarage.

Secretaries for Montgomeryshire.

Rev. Canon Robert Williams, Llanfyllin
Rev. D. P. Lewis, Guilsfield Vicarage.

Secretary of the Powys-land Club.

M. C. Jones, Esq., F.S.A., Gungrog.

WELSHPOOL MEETING.

MONDAY, AUGUST 25.

THE General Committee met at 8 o'clock, and discussed the draft Report, which was adopted. At 8.30 P.M. the Meeting was held, the chair being taken by Professor Babington in the absence of the out-going President. In opening the proceedings he read an extract from a letter from the Bishop of St. David's, in which his Lordship expressed his regret at being unable to attend the Meeting. "The Bishop took so great an interest in the Association that nothing but unavoidable necessity would have prevented him coming there. He rejoiced that they had met at Welshpool after an interval of many years. At their previous visit they had four or five days of rain, so that they were able to see but little of the district, and he hoped they would be more successful on this occasion." He then introduced Mr. Charles W. Williams Wynn as President for the year.

The President, upon taking the chair, said he could not do better, in commencing his address, than read a letter received from the Bishop of St. David's: "I beg you to believe it is a matter of sincere regret to me that I am unable to attend the Cambrian Archaeological Meeting at Welshpool, to hand over in person the office of President you are so good as to undertake. I wish you a very pleasant and prosperous meeting." "If anything could add to the difficulty I feel in occupying the chair, it would be that I am succeeding a man so eminently capable of doing honour to the position as the Bishop of St. David's.

"I suspect that many of those who have found themselves placed, almost against their will, in a position to which they have no special claim, have shared the feeling which now possesses me in addressing an audience most of whom are probably better acquainted with the special objects of the Meeting than I can pretend to be; and that they have wished that the difficulty might be solved by the simple process of confining the inaugural address of the President to the announcement of the formal opening of the Congress, leaving some working and efficient members of the Council to supplement this bare declaration by a more detailed statement of the peculiar claims of the locality chosen for your assembly, upon your attention.

"I regret, as much on your account as on my own, that the accumulated stores of antiquarian knowledge and information gathered during a long life by a father, cannot be handed down, like an estate, to the son. Had I my father's intimate acquaintance with the history and folk-lore of this county, I might, indeed, have hoped to lay before you some points connected with its archæological and local annals that would not be unworthy of your interest and attention. But having been selected, however unworthily, to preside over the Meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association this year, I feel that I should be wanting in respect to its members, and to those visitors who have honoured us with their company this evening, if, after giving them all, in the first place, a hearty welcome to our county, I did not endeavour to draw their attention for a few minutes to some of the special claims of the locality to their notice and examination.

"Many years have passed since the Cambrian Archæological Association held its Meeting in this town. In the interval that has elapsed death has caused many gaps in our list of Associates; but many others must have grown up to years of discretion, and we will hope have become good archæologists.

"Montgomeryshire, as part of Powysland, may be considered first in its relation to Gwynedd (N. Wales) and Dyfed (S. Wales) as a border-land nearest adjacent to England, and involved in continual difficulties with the Lords of the Marches. Its history is, therefore, more inextricably involved in their struggles and intrigues than that of any other county; and yielding to the coercion of the superior power, it was one of the first to lose its independence. Its antiquities tell of still earlier struggles, and a harder stand for freedom. British camps and dykes are the most common feature. If you will only cast your eye over an Ordnance Map of the district, you will see that almost every hill-top has its camp,—some small, for hasty defence; some extensive, for more general refuge; but all aptly described by Tacitus in his *Annals* (xii, 31), "*locum pugnae delegere, septum agresti aggere, et aditu angusto*". Such are the camps on the Breidden, at Kerry, on the Long Mountain, and Meifod. Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, writes to me that he considers that on the south side of the Severn, opposite Llanllwchaiarn, as one of the most perfect he ever inspected. Crowther's Camp, near this town, a little above the site of the Abbey of Strata Marcella, has also yielded a plentiful harvest of weapons, ornaments, and other antiquities, to its noble owner, which you will have an opportunity of examining on our visit to Powis Castle on Thursday. For a more detailed account of these I would refer you to a paper by Mr. Barnwell in the third volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections*. Great dykes, or *cloddiau*, are also frequent, and cut off the approaches by the valleys, as on the Kerry Hills, at Ystym Colwyn, and Offa's Dyke. The approaches to the regal palace and fortress of Mathraval are also guarded by a perfect network of camps and dykes. Of Roman camps and roads there is no lack. Some of these are

earlier, some later, than the remains of that at Caersws. Among these may be mentioned the Gaer near Montgomery, Gaerfawr, and Clawdd Côch. Roman roads appear to have radiated from Caersws, and there were others leading to the disputed and uncertain locality in which Mediolanum is to be found. *Moated mounds* are also frequent. These were probably the residences of subordinate chieftains, later than the camps, but earlier than the *moated houses*. These last appear to have been formed with the idea of draining and drying the site, not of defence. There is a good example in the site of the old Vicarage at Meifod, one at Guilsfield, and another at Wattlesborough. *Tumuli* are numerous on the hills, and are known in Welsh as *tomenau* or *tymps*; but none of them appear to have been systematically opened. They are apparently all *round ones*, so that there is no room for controversy whether they are to be classified as dolicho- or brachy-cephalic. *Meini hirion*, or erect stones, are also numerous; but none of them are known to bear inscriptions. The earliest *inscribed* stone is to be seen in the churchyard at Llanerfyl, and the earliest *sculptured* stone in the church at Meifod. Both are engraved by Professor Westwood in the last Part of his *Lapidarium Walliæ*. The examination of tumuli and erect stones is a great desideratum as far as this county is concerned, and it may yet throw light on many doubtful and obscure points.

"The nomenclature of the county also deserves a passing word. In addition to its ordinary *descriptive* character, it has here two other interesting features indicative of very primitive times,—1st, *animal*, Afon, Twrch (boar), Banw (sow), Moch (pig), Colwyn (badger), Nant yr Ast (bitch), y Cathau (cats). 2nd, *historical*,—Bwlch Aeddan, Llanerch Frochwel, Clawdd Llesg (? Eliseg), Tre-Elystan, Maen Beuno, Fridd Faldwyn, Tomen Madoc, Fridd St. John. Besides these names come those of the founders of churches, as Tysilio, Cadvan, Gwyddfarch, Cynfelyn, Garmon, Gwynog, and others.

"The churches of the old type are fast disappearing, and the curious old wooden belfry is being superseded by the stone tower and spire. Amongst the more notable examples are, however,—of *wood*, with wattle and dab, Trelystan and Meverley; *pre-Norman*, a piece of arcade in Meifod Church; *Norman*, Meifod, Llandrinio, Llanfechain (this church is remarkable as having no east window, but only three very narrow lancets in the east end); *Early English*, Montgomery, Chirbury, arcade in Llanidloes: *Decorated*, Welshpool, Guilsfield (a beautiful oak ceiling, recently restored under the auspices of Mr. Street, mainly through the munificence of Captain Mytton and the Earl of Powis); *Perpendicular*, Guilsfield (outer fabric), Llanidloes (roof).

"*Rood-screens* are numerous and beautiful. Those at Newtown, Pennant Melangell, Llanwnnog, Llangurig, and Llangyniew, are specially worthy of notice. *Vide* Mr. Walker's account and drawings of them in the third and following volumes of *Mont. Coll.*

"*Shrine* at Llanerfyl.

"*Effigies* at Montgomery, Pennant, Llanfair, in the Museum (from Berriew), a brass at Bettws.

"*Wooden houses*, commonly called half-timbered, are frequent, and some of important size,—Marrington, Lymore Park, Llyssin (said to have been the residence of Lord Herbert of Chirbury), Llandinam old Hall, Penrhos, Pontyscowrhyd, and many other considerable ones which have lapsed into farmhouses.

"*Monastic associations*,—Nunneries of Llanllugan and Pennant, Cistercian Abbey of Strata Marcella, Ystrad Marchell (see Mr. M. Jones' paper in the fifth and succeeding volumes of *Mont. Coll.*), cells of the Commandery of St. John of Jerusalem at Llanwddyn, Carno, and Tregynon, and at Yspytty Evan on the very borders of Powysland.

"I see that on Tuesday an excursion is set down for one division of our party to the Breidden. With reference to the latter I would recall to the recollection of those that have read it, and to the notice of those who have not, a very able paper in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for the year 1851, by Mr. Wynne Ffoulkes, upon the long-disputed question of the locality of the last stand made by our brave countryman Caractacus against the Roman legions; which site Mr. Ffoulkes believes, and gives sound reasons for his belief, to have been on the north side of the Breidden.

"Assembled as we are beneath its very shadow, of the mediæval objects of most interest to us is the old Castell Coch (the Red Castle) of Powys, which we are invited to visit on Thursday. Wenwynwn, Prince of Upper Powys, a descendant of Rhodri Mawr, is stated to have occupied and enlarged it after the death of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, who built it. He transmitted it to his son Griffith and his grandson Owen, who resided there as sovereign princes. Owen's daughter, Hawyn Gadarn, who claimed the succession to the Principality, was opposed by her four uncles on the ground of her sex. She appealed to the English King, Edward II, and was by him given in marriage to John de Charlton, whom the King ennobled as Lord of Powys. Joan, the daughter of Edward de Charlton, subsequent Lord of Powys, having married Grey, Earl of Tankerville, transmitted the lordship and Castle of Powys to her son Henry Earl of Tankerville. It remained in the family of the Greys till sold by the then possessor to Edward Herbert, second son of the Earl of Pembroke, who was created Lord Powys in 5 Charles I. Henrietta Antonia, Countess of Powys, was the representative of the Duke of Powys (so created by James II after his abdication), through her mother, Barbara, daughter and heiress of William Herbert, third and last Duke; and in her united three other lines of descent of the Herberts. Her father, Henry Earl of Powys, was a direct descendant of Wenwynwn, Prince of Powys. She married Edward, son of Robert the great Lord Clive, and thus the present Earl of Powys is the representative of both families.

"We read in Leland's *Itinerary*, which was written in the reign of Henry VIII, that this fortress had formerly two separated and

distinct wards belonging to different owners, one of whom was the Lord Dudley of the day. This would seem to be a very uncomfortable joint ownership if the two proprietors chanced to take different sides in any of the public or domestic feuds that were then so frequently arising. In Leland's time the Castle belonged to the Lord Powys, and I will read you what he says: 'By the Castel is a fair paled park. Betwixt the town and Castel Gough is a pretty llyn or pool, whereof the towne takyth name. The towne itself, the Walsch Pole, is of one parochie, well builded after the Walsch fashion. Gledding, a rivulet, cometh almost by the church, and so to Severn.' But to describe and illustrate the history of Powys Castle would be to write that of Gwynedd and Powysland entire. Would that its noble owner would himself contribute to the pages of the journal that takes its name from his inheritance an account worthy of the theme and of his own varied and accurate erudition.

"Guilsfield Church also stands in the programme of this day's expedition, and will well repay the attention of those who stop to examine it. It has been extensively and carefully restored, as I have said before, within the last eighteen months.

"I hope on Friday to have the pleasure of welcoming as many members of the Cambrian Archæological Association and of the Powysland Club as feel disposed to come, at Coed y Maen. On their road to Meifod they will pass an important camp, Bwlch Aeddan, also a dyke at Clawdd Llesg (? Eliseg, whose pillar in Valle Crucis commemorates him, erected by Cyngen, Prince of Powys, in 850,—Cyngen, great-grandson of Eliseg, sixth in descent from Brochwel Ysgythrog) that deserves attention. Close to this is a small spring issuing from the side of the hill, to which even now almost miraculous powers of healing are ascribed by the inhabitants of the country for miles around. A rude shed has been built over it; and I have been told that even within living memory votive offerings of crutches, etc., no longer required, used to be seen suspended on the walls, similar to those at Holywell.

"A patch of ground between this and Pen y Lan bears the name of Lord Cobham's Garden, and is reported to have been the scene of the capture of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, in 1418, who had been implicated in the Lollard conspiracy. He was taken prisoner here, removed to London, and there executed, being hung alive in chains while a fire was lit under him. Of him Fuller says: "Thus died the great Lord Cobham; and as this was the first noble blood that was shed in England, on account of religion, by Popish cruelty, so, perhaps, never any suffered a more cruel martyrdom." By a charter still in the possession of Captain Mytton, one of the descendants of Sir Gruffydd Vychan, Edward de Charleton grants to Sir G. Vychan and to Ieuan ap Gruffydd, his brother, for aid in the capture of Lord Cobham, all their lands in the lordship of Strata Marcella, rendering for service one barbed arrow on the Feast of St. John Baptist.

"Some of you will doubtless extend your wanderings from hence

across the river to the bold hill which faces you, and which goes by the name of Allt yr Ancr, or the Anchorite's Hill. There are traces of a British, not Roman, camp on its west side, and some curious shallow wells dug in the rock, for the supply of the small garrison. Who the anchorite was from whom the hill takes its name is matter of conjecture, not certainty; but the Vicar is disposed to identify him with Gwyddfarch, the first founder of the church.

"Meifod itself offers but little to arrest your attention, unless it be the church. During the process of removing a false ceiling of comparatively recent date, and laying open the old timbered roof, traces of fresco work were visible on the plaster above the east window, which Mr. Ferrey, the architect, who superintended the restoration, was disposed to assign to a date not later than the thirteenth century. But the present east window (some three centuries later), which probably replaced three narrow lancet ones like those at Llanfechain, had obliterated so much of the figures, and damp and decay had effaced so much more, that there was only a trace remaining. Your attention will be directed to a curious stone coffin-lid in the church, and also to a piece of Norman arcade and column which clearly belonged to a different and earlier fabric than the present, and which were accidentally brought to light by the falling of some plaster during the recent work of restoration. Mr. Ferrey assigns these to the first church, St. Tysilio's, and to a date certainly anterior to 1154, when St. Mary's Church in Meifod is stated in the *Brut y Tywysogion* to have been consecrated.

"Meifod was at one time supposed to have been the site of the Roman station at Mediolanum, and traces of Roman work have certainly been found at Mathraval. But those who wish to see this subject fully discussed must be referred to a paper in the ninth volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, where the late Vicar, Canon Wynne Edwards, enters minutely into the arguments *pro* and *con*. I may here mention that a very rare book (I may say unique in its perfect state), Griffith Roberts' *Welsh Grammar*, bears the imprint of *Mediolanum*; and that Sir A. Panizzi, the Librarian of the British Museum, stoutly contended to the end with my father, to whom the book belonged, that it was printed (I think about 1620) in Mediolanum here, and not at Milan. Though himself an Italian, he wished the origin of the volume to be as Welsh as its subject.

"On your road from Meifod to Llanfair you will pass the site of the old Castle of Mathraval, the palace of the Princes of Powys. It overhangs the banks of the Banw; and a lovelier position for palace or castle could hardly be found even in this county, so abounding with charming sites. To this spot the Princes of Powys, when vanquished by Offa, King of Mercia, bent their sorrowing steps, and towards the close of the eighth century built or enlarged the Castle. Its walls comprised an area of upwards of two acres; and for four hundred years it was the seat of government, paying an annual

tribute, however, of four tons of honey to the Prince of Gwynedd. Rhodri Mawr was the first occupant of this regal residence; and here, in later generations, Meredydd ap Bleddyn divided his kingdom into Upper and Lower Powys. But its most celebrated possessor was, perhaps, Owen Cyfeiliog, eminent as prince, lawgiver, poet, and orator; and here he dwelt till he retired to his own Abbey of Ystrad Marchell, and became a monk.

"To those who have become acquainted with the already half-forgotten poets of the early part of this century, the name of Math-raval will at once recall Southey's noble poem of *Madoc*, whose opening scenes are laid here. Robert de Vipont, the Norman chieftain who held the Castle for King John, was besieged here by the Prince of Gwynedd in 1212. John himself was at Bristol at the time; but sending immediate succours of men and money, and following them himself with all speed, raised the siege on the seventh day after he received the intelligence of its investment,—a creditable operation of war, as it would be in these days even, but marvellous in its celerity when the state of the country at that time is considered. From this palace appears to have issued the charter rewarding Ieuan ap Gruffydd and his brother Sir Gruffydd Vychan for their share and aid in the capture of Lord Cobham, to which I have before alluded.

"I fear that it is not likely that any of our members will extend their wanderings as far as Llanwddyn, the village which a speculative company proposes to drown out, and to make the foundation for a gigantic reservoir for the supply of Liverpool with water, but a little above this village is a remarkable spot which may be worth commemorating. Bwlch y Pawl, the boundary of Powysland, on the old direct road from Bala to Machynlleth, was the established place of arbitration by the Princes of Powys in any dispute that arose between Gwynedd and Dyfed.

"On Saturday I observe that an excursion is set down for us to Montgomery, where the parish church and the remains of the old Castle, together with the neighbouring half-timbered house in Ly-more Park, all claim our attention. It is curious that in the *Domes-day Survey* the Castle is placed in the Hundred of Witentren, in the county of *Salop*! Roger (*Corbet*) Lord or Earl of Montgomery is represented as holding four plough-lands, and as having himself built a castle, and called it Montgomery. The record goes on to state that in the reign of King Edward (the Confessor), Senuar, Ozlac, and Azor, held fifty-two hides and a half of land adjacent to the Castle as hunting-ground. Whether the Baldwin whose name is retained in the present Welsh appellation of the county (*Trefaldwyn*) was a lieutenant of Earl Roger's, or not, is a moot point; but this much is certain, that Montgomery, like Whittington, Oswestry, Carreghova, on to Caerse, Clun, and Ludlow, was one of the chain of strong places erected along the border of the Marches for the maintenance and security of the English power against the incursions of the Welsh. The first Montgomery Castle was destroyed

by our ill subdued ancestors, and the garrison left in it by Earl Hugh, Roger's successor, was put to the sword. It was recovered by William Rufus in 1095, and probably granted to Earl Hugh's brother Robert; but it is not mentioned among the castles held by him at the time of his ruin and banishment, in 1102. The earldom of Montgomery having now lapsed to the crown, was augmented by part of the adjacent lordship of Chirbury, and was granted by Henry I to Baldwin de Bollers. He and his successors held it till 1232, when King Henry III granted the Castle to Roger L'Estrange. A short time previous to this the King had himself taken in hand the restoration and completion of the Castle, and had spent very considerable amounts in so doing. He himself appears to have been there in 1224, and the masonry now standing is of this date. It was next granted to Hubert de Burgh, and in 1245 was attacked by the Welsh under Prince David, when it appears to have received considerable injury. In 1267 King Henry met Prince Llywelyn at Montgomery, and received his homage. In 1274 Edward summoned Llywelyn to meet him at Chester, and take the oath of allegiance; but Llywelyn excused himself on the plea of personal danger; and soon after Edward intercepted Llywelyn's promised bride, Eleanor, the daughter of the Earl of Leicester, on her voyage from France to meet her affianced husband. Two years after this Llywelyn offered to attend either at Montgomery or Oswestry, and do homage, if assured of safe conduct; but Edward denounced him as a rebel, and summoned all his military tenants to arms. Llywelyn then made peace at the price of a fine of about £50,000; and Edward gave to Roger Mortimer the castles of Kerry, Cedewin, and Dolforwyn, as Constable. Four years after the strife again began, and Llywelyn was killed in a skirmish near Builth, by Adam de Francon. The town was sacked by Glendower on one of his predatory excursions, and the suburbs of Welshpool were burnt by him at the same time.

"Dolforwyn Castle, four or five miles nearer Newtown, and on the opposite bank of the Severn, is said to have been built by the great Prince of Powys, Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, between 1065 and 1073. We read that in 1274, 'about low Easter, Llywellyn, son of Gruffydd, visited the Castle of Dolforwyn, and he summoned the son of Gwenwynwyn, whom he upbraided for the deceit and disloyalty he experienced from him, and took from him *Arwstli* and thirteen townships of Cyfeiliog; and took Owen, his eldest son, and carried him away with him to Gwynedd.' The Castle was besieged in 1277 by the Earl of Lincoln and Roger Mortimer, and surrendered in a fortnight for want of water.

"The importance, however, of these castles along the Marches, as bulwarks against the Welsh, was much diminished, if not entirely annulled, by the conquest of the Principality under Edward I. Towards the close of the thirteenth century Bogo de Knoville was appointed Constable, and had a grant from Edward I of timber from the adjacent forest of Corndon, for the repairs of the Castle and

town walls and gates. In 1382 Roger Mortimer was created Earl of March in the Marches of Wales; but having been accused of obtaining exorbitant grants of the royal demesnes, among which was Montgomery Castle, he was impeached by the Parliament, and hanged, without trial, near London.

"Two effigies of members of this latter family will be found in Montgomery Church. A detailed and very interesting account of the Castle, from the pen of Mr. Sandford, will be found in the tenth volume of the *Montgomeryshire Collections*, which I recommend to such of our members as possess it, as a capital handbook for our expedition of Saturday.

"And now having, I fear, at too great length touched upon some of the items of our programme, which appeared to me especially worthy of your attention, I will conclude as I began, with a repetition of our hearty welcome to our visitors, and will venture to sum up my remarks in the words of a leading article in *The Times* of last week, on the meeting of a kindred Society at Norwich:

"We do not wonder that archæological meetings, whether in the east or in the west, in Durham or in Wales, satisfy at once the learned and the unlearned. Archæological societies are in truth doing what is in itself good work. If they are not, like the sages who discourse to the British Association, discovering new worlds in front of us, they are at any rate extending the world of the present back into the world of the past. Archæology makes us of the nineteenth century feel ourselves heirs of the fourteenth. It teaches us to understand our own age by showing how the past enters into it. Archæologists everywhere come upon some element of beauty to admire, some trace of a social stratum seemingly obsolete; but which we may be sure, if it existed once, exists now, though it may be in another shape. The bricks which built the Roman fort are built into the Saxon church. On the Saxon church is found engrafted the late Plantagenet Gothic. Manners and sentiments and institutions of ancient England dovetail into those of modern England, as Roman and Saxon, Norman and English periods of architecture overlap and overlies each other. This England of ours sometimes seems to have been too continuously prosperous to gather about it the venerable rust of age. One wave of feeling appears ever to have followed another without interval of pause, and to have obliterated every mark its predecessor had impressed. What, however, has once been cannot be wiped out as though it had never been. The archæologist comes, and under the prosaic exterior of a parish, himself often prosaically enough, detects the whole of English history lying, as it were, coiled up. For the most part the past must be searched for in the present. The old materials have been worked up again. Still, even in England and in Wales, now and then, the stream of national life has taken another course, and left stranded, high and dry, only the memory of bygone prosperity. A British antiquarian need not despair of finding cities in his own land from which the vitality has passed away as utterly as from

Rimini or Ypres,—Bangor Iscoed, and Dinas Mawddwy, for example. The meeting of last week saw, in the obscure Suffolk village of Dunwich, the remains of what was once a busy and wealthy town. Its churches are either desolate ruins, or buried beneath the sea. A city which was once a bishop's see can scarcely show a surviving church.

“Not only is English antiquity full of lessons,—as, indeed, is every chapter of the world's history,—it is full of beauty also. Ecclesiastical art in what are called the Middle Ages has a compelling charm which has fascinated even the most scientific of antiquarians. It is time now that they left a little on one side the thirteenth and fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are dark places in the seventeenth which stand more in need of lighting up. Antiquity is nothing absolute. It is a question of degree. The dark ages, from an æsthetic point of view, have long ceased to be dark. Broad highways have been cut through them in every direction. If archæologists desire to open up regions of sentiment in art stranger and more antiquated than any they find in the ruins of Glastonbury or Dunwich, they may be recommended to ransack the centuries which followed their favourite pasture-grounds. We do not even know but that in the despised eighteenth century an archæologist might discover less trodden recesses, and knots harder to untie, than any of the puzzles he makes it his recreation as well as his task to solve as the autumn comes round.”

Professor Babington proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. C. W. Williams Wynn for his interesting address. He did not ask them to criticise it; he did not think it admitted of criticism; but he thought it excellent. He was sure they would be thankful to see it in print in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in order that they might read it carefully, and obtain a great deal more information from it than they could on that occasion.

Mr. M. H. Bloxam, in seconding the vote of thanks, said he hoped he might be allowed to refer to the fact that they had in that neighbourhood, in all probability (perhaps in a greater degree of probability than in any other place), the scene of the victory obtained by the Romans over Caractacus. He had no doubt that in the excursions of the Society during the week, they would see a great many specimens of genuine Welsh antiquities. He just wished to say one word in reference to their excellent Museum of Antiquities. He saw under one of the tables in the Museum sculptured effigies which should be removed either to the church whence they came, or to some neighbouring church, as they were beautifully executed, and ought to be preserved. He heartily begged to second the vote of thanks to their worthy President.

The Mayor of Welshpool (Mr. Parker) said he had great pleasure that evening in giving a hearty welcome to the Cambrian Archæological Association. He trusted that the Meeting would be much more successful than the one in 1856.

The motion having been carried, the President thanked them cordially for the kind acknowledgment of his poor services which they had been pleased to make, and expressed his wish that they were more worthy of the recognition. He then called upon the Secretary, the Rev. R. Trevor Owen, to read the Report.

The following Report was then read by the Secretary :

"REPORT.

"Three and twenty years have passed since your Association held its Meeting in this town, under the presidency of the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis, and on that occasion the state of the weather was such that several places on the programme could not be visited ; and so it happens that though this is the second time for the Cambrian Archæological Association to visit Welshpool, the neighbourhood may almost be said to be fresh ground.

"You will find that a vigorous offshoot of your Society, the Powysland Club, has sprung up here, and has been doing much in the way of illustrating the history of Montgomeryshire ; and that there exists a local Museum of great interest, due mainly to the exertions of Mr. Morris C. Jones, Secretary of the Powysland Club.

"The thanks of your Society are due to R. W. Banks, Esq., for his present of the Plates which illustrate his papers on Llanddwyn Church, and a wooden female head found at Llanio. Your Committee must congratulate the members on the completion of Professor Westwood's learned and valuable work on *The Inscribed Stones of Wales*. The concluding Part of it is now ready to be sent out to subscribers. They are also glad to say that Mr. Charles Baker, F.S.A., has kindly undertaken to edit a new volume of 'Original Documents', which will commence with those relating to the possessions of Neath Abbey ; and that the Rev. E. L. Barnwell and Mr. Breese intend bringing out, at their joint risk, the *Cwlla Cyfarwydd, or the Chronicle of Peter Roberts*,—a book which ought to interest the members who reside in North Wales, as it embraces the register of births, marriages, burials, and the principal local events in Flintshire and Denbighshire from 1607 to 1646.

"Since the issue of the last Report Mr. Askew Roberts' new edition of the *History of the Gwydir Family* has been published. In the preparation of this edition much assistance was received from W. W. E. Wynne, of Peniarth, Esq., one of your Vice-Presidents, who had collated his copy of Miss Lloyd's edition with the Brogyn-tyn, Wynnstay, and Peniarth MSS. Another member of your Society, Mr. Alwyn C. Evans, has edited and annotated some royal charters and historical documents relating to the town and county of Carmarthen and the Abbeys of Talley and Tygwyn-ar-Daf.

"The number of members continues to be satisfactory ; but it is necessary once more for the Editor, while thanking those who have so kindly sent him papers for the Journal, to appeal to the members generally for more active co-operation in supplying him with notices of any local antiquities, and of anything worthy of record in the

country churches of Wales, which very often have an interest peculiarly their own.

"The Committee have with regret to announce the resignation of the Rev. D. R. Thomas, who has held the office of Editor and General Secretary since the year 1875, and propose that the thanks of the Association be given to him for his valuable services, and that he be elected one of the Local Secretaries for Montgomeryshire. Within the last twelve months the Association has lost two very old members by the deaths of the Very Rev. Llewellyn Llewellyn, D.C.L., Dean of St. David's, first Principal of St. David's College, Lampeter; and the Rev. T. James, M.A., LL.D., vicar of Netherthong, whose name appears in the first printed list of members.

"Your Committee recommend that the names of the Right Hon. Lord Windsor and Lord Dynevor be placed on the list of Patrons, and that the Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff be elected one of the Vice-Presidents. The retiring members of the Committee are: the Rev. Prebendary Davies, J. R. Cobb, Esq., the Rev. D. Silvan Evans, and your Committee recommend their re-election.

"Since the last Meeting the following noblemen and gentlemen have joined the Association, and their election awaits confirmation by the members:

"NORTH WALES.

"D. H. Mytton, Esq., Garth, Welshpool
J. Dugdale, Esq., Llwyn Llanfyllin
W. A. Pughe, Esq., the Hall, Llanfyllin
The Rev. E. Tudor Owen, Brighton Road, Rhyl
The Rev. John Thomas, Llangurig.

"SOUTH WALES.

"The Right Hon. Lord Windsor, St. Fagan's Castle, Cardiff
The Right Hon. Lord Dynevor, Dynevor Castle, Llandilo
The Very Rev. the Dean of Llandaff, the Deanery, Llandaff
T. H. R. Hughes, Esq., Neuadd fawr, Lampeter
The Rev. D. Bowen, Hamilton House, Pembroke
Herbert Jones, Esq., Llammas Street, Carmarthen
Henry W. Lewis, Esq., Treherbert, Pontypridd
H. Dyke Pearce, Esq., Tanybryn, Cefn, Merthyr.

"ENGLAND.

"The Rev. J. Davies, M.A., F.A.S., Hampstead, London.

"THE MARCHES.

"The Rev. Canon Howell Evans, Oswestry
J. P. Hamer, Esq., Glanyrafon, Oswestry."

The Rev. E. L. Barnwell, in moving the adoption of the Report, said that in every way it was a favourable one, except, perhaps, that there was a want of literary contributions, and he might add,

of readiness to pay up subscriptions. In all other respects the Association was in a most flourishing condition: in fact, as far as numbers were concerned, they increased every year. He begged to propose that the Report be approved of and adopted.

The Rev. Prebendary Davies said he had much pleasure in seconding the motion proposed by their Treasurer. With regard to one sentence in the Report, he wished to bear his testimony to the excellence, according to his judgment, of Mr. Askew Roberts' edition of the *Gwydir Family*, which was one of the most interesting books he had read for a long time. It was of great value from an archaeological point of view, because it threw much light upon questions of antiquarian interest in North Wales. He begged to second the adoption of the Report.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

The Rev. D. R. Thomas then read a paper upon Wattlesborough Castle, by Mr. Stanley Leighton, M.P. for North Shropshire, which will be published in the Society's Journal.

The Rev. R. Trevor Owen having made an explanation in regard to the programme for the week, the Meeting separated.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 26.

The members assembled in front of the Town Hall at 9 o'clock. The weather, on the previous night, was very unfavourable; however, as the morning wore on, the day became one of bright sunshine. During this and the other excursions of the week the Rev. D. R. Thomas discharged the duties of guide and conductor most efficiently.

The first halt was made at the little church of Buttington with its low Montgomeryshire belfry. Mr. Thomas explained that the chief interest of Buttington lay in its being the spot where, about the year 894, a battle was fought between the Danes under Hesten, and the English under one of Alfred's generals, assisted by the Welsh under Mervyn Prince of Powys and Anarawd Prince of Gwynedd. The Danes came up the course of the Severn, as they were starved out, the English on the one side, and the Welsh on the other, combining against them. It was said that they were driven to such a pass by hunger, that they were obliged to eat their own horses. Some years ago some workmen, as they were digging the foundations for a house near the churchyard, came upon some pits in which were an immense number of human skeletons. He believed there were three pits, and one of them contained no fewer than two hundred skulls. The two other pits contained human skulls and bones. They were reburied on the north side of the church. Some bones of horses were also found, which might confirm the statement of the *Saxon Chronicle*. Mr. Thomas afterwards pointed out the curious font in the church, which consists of the

head of a pillar scooped out for the purpose, and probably brought from the ruins of the neighbouring Abbey of Strata Marcella, and is evidently of the thirteenth century. Attention was called to some fifteenth century stained glass in the west window, which ought to be rearranged. The porch has carved upon it 1686, T. G. H. W.

A camp, supposed to be Roman, near the church, was visited by a section of the members.

It had been arranged that at Buttington the party should divide, one section proceeding to the "Old Mills" Ford over the Severn, along the probable route of the Romans to the ancient fortress on the Breidden, and other early works; but this arrangement was not carried out.

The members, on leaving Buttington, proceeded eastward through Trewern and Middleton to Woolaston. At the Glyn, close to the Welsh border, the cottage in which old Parr is said to have been born was passed. Soon afterwards a halt was made to examine a mound close to Woolaston Church, the character of which gave rise to a rather animated discussion. Woolaston Church (a building devoid of all architectural beauty) has nothing worth a visit except a tablet bearing the following inscription: "The old, old, very old man, Thomas Parr, was born at the Glyn, in the parish of Winnington, within the chapelry of Wolaston, in the parish of Alberbury, in the county of Salop, in the year of our Lord, 1483. He lived in the reigns of ten kings and queens of England, viz., Edward the 4th and 5th, Henry 7th and 8th, Edward the 6th, Mary, Elizabeth, James the 1st, and Charles the 1st. Died the 13th, and was buried in Westminster Abbey the 15th November, 1635, aged 152 years and 9 months."

Wattlesborough Castle, which was next visited, is eight miles from Welshpool, on the old road between Welshpool and Shrewsbury. It stands midway between Alberbury Castle and Caus Castle, and, as Mr. Stanley Leighton in his paper says, was well fitted to form a link in the chain of border-fortresses which in this neighbourhood commanded the Marches of Wales. It is now a farmhouse. The square Norman tower, about 50 feet high, is remarkable for its fair proportions. The walls average about 6 feet in thickness. The roof is comparatively recent. The moat on the south and south-west sides of the tower is still visible. On the other sides it has been filled up. Mr. Hartshorne pointed out the remains of an Elizabethan garden.

Alberbury Church and Castle were next visited. The members were received by the Rev. J. Mitchell. The church is unusually large for a village one. There is a record of it dated 1020. The original Saxon church, which was collegiate, and granted by Ralph Crassus, in the reign of Stephen, to Shrewsbury Abbey, is supposed to have been of the dimensions of the present chancel. It was afterwards surrendered by Shrewsbury Abbey, in the reign of Henry II, to Fulk Fitzwarin II. In the year 1220, when F. Fitzwarin III built the Castle and Priory, his monks took possession of

his Norman church, which they used as their choir, and threw out a new nave. The tower, of old red sandstone, was built at this time, and has loopholes. It also has a saddle-back roof. In the north-east buttress are two stones bearing ornament of a very early period, supposed by some to be Saxon. The portion of the church built by the monks was consecrated by Bishop Swinfield on May 4, 1290. In the south aisle, built in 1340 by one of the Corbets of that day, there are some Decorated tracery and glass of the fourteenth century. At its east end is a good window, now blocked; and at the west end, a triangular one of the Decorated period. In some old papers there is an allusion to St. Peter's Chapel in Alberbury Church. Might not the chapel in this aisle be the one alluded to? Mr. Picton called attention to some carved work under the roof of this part of the church. It appeared to him that the struts, which were elaborately carved, were placed there to resist the pressure of the roof, which had forced the arcade out of the perpendicular. Some encaustic tiles of the original floor of the church were lately found eighteen inches below the present floor, but too late to be replaced.

At the ruins of the Castle the Vicar said that this border castle was built by Fitzwarin in 1220. Fulk Fitzwarin, who held this manor together with that of Caus and other manors in Shropshire, died in 1178. His descendants also were men of repute. In 1238 a Lord of the same name was summoned to Oxford as one of the great chiefs to consult Henry III as to proceeding against Llywelyn. In 1284 Edward IV granted a licence to a Fitzwarin to hold a weekly market on Fridays and two annual fairs in June and September. What now forms a garden was probably an outer work into which people could drive their cattle when a Welsh attack was expected. Part of the ruins are transition, between Norman and Early English.

At the Vicarage was shewn a curious sacramental plate-chest with several large bolts which may be shot into their places by a single turn of the key.

The members then drove to the remains of the Benedictine Priory, or "White Abbey", as it is called, about a mile from the church. What is left now forms a farmhouse. A wooden floor divides into two stories the chapel, the stone roof of which, groined with ribs and carved bosses, is interesting. The cornice of a piscina at the east end has been preserved. The east window is blocked up. This Priory was founded by Fulk Fitzwarin III, c. 1220-30,¹ who appears to have wished to affiliate it to Lilleshall Abbey; but

¹ The Fitzwarin chronicle states that Fulk Fitzwarin's second wife, Clarisse de Auberville, was buried here, and that Fulk Fitzwarin dying a year after at Blaunche Vyle (Whittington), was interred with great honour near the altar of the same monastery. The Loton MS. states there was formerly a chapel, dedicated to St. Stephen, within the site of the monastery, in which Fulk Warin, its founder, with many other benefactors of the Priory, are buried.

failing that, to have fixed on the French house of Grandmont, in the diocese of Limosa. As an alien house, it was in 1357 in the hands of Edward III by reason of his war with France. It continued an escheat of the crown till Henry VI's reign, when in May 1441 the King, at the request of Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, granted the suppressed Priory, with all its tithes, etc., to All Souls' College, recently founded by the Archbishop.

At the conclusion of the Vicar's interesting details the members started for Llandrinio, where they were received by the Rev. E. B. Smith, who read the following description of the church from the well known *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, by the Rev. D. R. Thomas: "The church, which bears its founder's name, though small, is very interesting. The ground-plan consists of a simple oblong body, distinguished externally into chancel and nave, with a small tower at the west end, and a south porch. From a Norman arch and an ogee piscina visible externally in the north wall, it would appear to have been at one time a double church, and of course much larger than at present. The south door, the fine old Norman font, and a narrow loop-window on the north side, belong to the same period. The east window, a small three-light, Decorated, is a later insertion, as is evidenced by the walling. The carved pulpit and the old Communion-table, now in the vestry, are of Elizabethan date. A yet more recent gallery occupies the west end, and the church has been twice repaired within the present century, viz., in 1829 and in 1860. On this last occasion it was repewed with open seats, the pulpit removed to the east end, and a new desk set up on the north side."

It was stated that in making some graves near the church, on the north side, a great quantity of wrought stones had been found. At the Rectory the Communion-plate, said to be of the seventeenth century, was inspected. A silver flagon bears an inscription showing that it was given by Bishop Barrow in 1680. After partaking of the Rector's hospitality the members returned home, passing the site of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell.

At the evening meeting Professor Babington gave a *résumé* of the day's excursion, after which a discussion followed with respect to the date of Wattlesborough Castle, which was fixed to be of the twelfth century. Mr. Bloxam then made some remarks on the tumulus at Woolaston.

The discussion on the day's proceedings having been brought to a close, the Rev. Prebendary Davies read a paper on "The Breidden Hills and their Connection with Caractacus", which appears in the present No. of the Journal.

After some remarks by the Rev. D. R. Thomas and Mr. Bloxam the meeting was brought to a close.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 27.

On this day, fixed for an excursion by rail to Oswestry, the morning opened with a downpour of rain which lasted till late in the afternoon. A projected visit to Oswestry Castle and to Hen Dinas (Old Oswestry) had to be given up.

The Vicar of Oswestry received the members, and read an interesting account of the church, as follows :

"There can be but little surprise that so few architectural remains of an early date should be found in Oswestry, when we remember how for centuries the almost ceaseless ebb and flow of war and strife swept over the whole of the district. Of the earliest church that existed here there is no certain record or knowledge. That Christianity was firmly planted amongst our British ancestors so early as the second century we know, and as we follow with eager interest the history of the Celtic Church in later days, which, from that Candida Casa built by St. Ninian on the Solway Firth, spread far and wide until in the fourth century it was firmly established both in Scotland and England. We cannot but believe that in this district, too, important as it was from the earliest period, there must have existed a church with its band of clergy. Again, no doubt the monastic system prevailed here in the fifth century, as it did throughout Wales ; for how thoroughly it was developed amongst the British, who at that time occupied this broad land of Meisir, we learn not only from the celebrated Monastery of Bangor-is-Coed, only a short distance from Oswestry, but also from the well known facts that the founder of the great Monastery of Clonard, in Meath, and the regenerator of Ireland, S. Finnian, was trained amongst the British, and went forth accompanied by many of them as well as by his twelve apostles, as they were called, to that great work of his which in the end sent out missionaries not only to the northern parts of these islands, but to the Continent as well. It was in the school of Finnian that Columba was trained, whose monastery in Iona became the source of new light in Scotland and amidst the Angles of Northumbria ; one of them, Kentigern, Bishop of Glasgow, also bearing, we are told, the Gospel through the whole of Cumbria and amidst the unconverted parts of Wales. Some, perhaps, of his missionaries preached here on this very spot, or on what may have been the earliest site of the church at Llanforda, more hidden amongst the woods, and safer than the plain.

"But we approach firmer ground as to the connection of Oswestry Church with that old Celtic Church, which was independent then, as we are now, of Rome, differing from it in many of its customs and traditions, as, for instance, in the time of keeping Easter, and professing 'nought but the doctrines of the Evangelists and Apostles'. For that, Oswald, to whom our church is dedicated, after

the defeat and death of his father Ethelfrid (destroyer of the monks of Bangor), found safety in the Monastery of Iona, and was there trained up in the Christian faith, and baptised; so that when he had gained his kingdom, and desired to instruct his people in Christianity, it was from Iona that he sought teachers, of whom Aidan was Bishop, Lindisfarne being their monastery; and when in that fatal year of 642 he set his forces in battle array against heathen Penda, somewhere near Maesyllan, and erected the cross to invoke God's blessing, it requires no great effort to picture the Celtic priests clad in their white tunics and cloaks, with hoods of undyed wool, chanting their solemn prayers for victory and success. When, many years after the remains of the defeated King were taken down from the trees where Penda had fixed them, and buried by his brother Oswy, and Christian monks returned to erect a new church in place of that destroyed by the heathen, it was doubtless as near as possible to the spot where the cross of Oswald had been fixed that they reared the new buildings to the glory of God, connecting them for ever with the memory of him whom they regarded as a martyr king.

"About 777 the tide of war must have again rolled over this district, when it was taken from the British by Offa, and made part of the kingdom of Mercia, only to be won back when he was defeated and slain. Then thick mist settles down upon all this land until, in the eleventh century, the church of St. Oswald rises up before us in all its fair proportions, with its band of clergy and endowment of tithes; rich enough to excite the cupidity of the more powerful Monastery of St. Peter, Shrewsbury, to which a grant of its tithes was made in 1086 (the year before William the Conqueror's death), by Warren, Lieutenant of Earl Roger of Montgomery. Of that building nothing remains, all has passed away.

"We next find it known as 'Blanc Minster', 'Candida Ecclesia', or 'Whiteminster', or the church of 'Album Monasterium'; and it is interesting to notice that this name might well be given to its interior as restored, at least to the body of the church. Henry II most probably worshipped within its walls; and Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, preached in it, urging men to join in the intended crusade, when here with Giraldus Cambrensis, the guests of Fitzalan, who then occupied the Castle originally built by Rainald in 1086; rebuilt, apparently, in 1149 by Madog. It was William Fitzalan who, during the time of the Crusades in 1190, confirmed this church of Album Monasterium, with its tithes and appurtenant chapels, served by twelve secular and married priests, to the Shrewsbury monks; and Bishop Reyner, who resided near here, approved of the same grant in 1216, and got it confirmed by the Chapter of St. Asaph in 1222.

"But those were troublous days, or at least a little before 1216, for in the disputes and wars between John and his barons, Oswestry appears to have been burned by the former; and we may be sure the leader of his mercenaries, who sacked and laid waste what-

ever churches he could, did not spare the sacred buildings of St. Oswald. Soon afterwards, however, some care for its wants was shewn,—perhaps due to the residence of Bishop Reynr,—for in 1220 the vicarage still existing was ordained, and provision made that the services of the church should be performed by the vicar and two chaplains, Philip Fitz Leofth being the first vicar.

“But its peaceful days were of short duration, for during the troubles of Henry III's reign Oswestry would again appear to have been burned and plundered,—a favour once more conferred upon it, about 1263, by Llewelyn, Prince of Wales. To what extent the church suffered it is impossible to say. Better days, however, dawned, for in 1277 Edward I surrounded the town with walls, and apparently passing through it more than once, no doubt attended the services in the church; whilst in August 1284 the whole place must have been full of stir and bustle, for Bishop Anian and his clergy assembled here to receive the Archbishop of Canterbury (Peckham), who, with all the pomp and religious ceremonial of that age, commenced in this church his visitation of the St. Asaph diocese.

“We are tempted to guess that perhaps it was after these great events for Oswestry (after King, Archbishop, and Bishop, had been here) that some great work of restoration was done, and the nave at least rebuilt, and north aisles; for the pillars and arches at the extreme west end of the church, which existed before the last restoration, might have been built about this period, being Early English in character; whilst the tower, with its windows and arches for spire, was evidently built about 1300,—an undertaking we might have expected as the result of these visits if the church had been, as it probably was, seriously injured during the preceding wars. Somewhat later on still we may suppose the north chancel-aisle was built, *i.e.*, if the present windows are, as is I believe the case, correct copies of the old. This part of the church, then, would have also been in existence when another King, Richard II, was here. Before him and his commissioners, appear, we are told in Price's *History*, in our town, in 1307, the Dukes of Hereford (afterwards Henry IV) and Norfolk. If so, some of them must have lodged in the Monastery. Perhaps all, at one time or other, knelt in our church.

“But the misery of war was not over. The Welsh, under Owen Glyndwr, attacked and burned the town in 1400, and in 1403 assembled to join Lord Percy (Harry Hotspur) in his rebellion, but too late to be of any use. Again probably the church was injured; and when peace was established, and the inhabitants had recovered their losses, the work of restoration went on, the chancel-arches, pillars, and east window, being of the fifteenth century date; the arches and pillars clearly of the early part of that century. Gutto'r Glyn, a Welsh poet in the middle of the fifteenth century, describes the White Monastery as being on the south side of the town, *i.e.*, the present site of the church, and speaks of the church as adorned

with rich chalices, a well-toned organ, and bells; and then goes on to say, 'there is no better choir' (none in which correctness of singing is greater, or the habiliment more suitable) 'from it to Canterbury; nor do I know any convent for monks superior to White Minster.'

"Evil times must have once more come to them, although we have no record of how or when, for in Henry VIII's reign (1540) Leland visited Oswestry, and says that of the Monastery the cloisters alone were left in the memory of persons then living. Of this church he writes that 'it is a very fair, leddid church with a great tourrid steeple'. There are some interesting data about this time which make it clear that there were special chapels in different parts of the church, although their position can only be guessed. A *Valor* (1535) notices a free chapel "*infra ecclesiam*". Of course this may mean St. Nicholas, which was in the Castle, or some other in the limits of the parish. But in a will of 1540 Richard Stanye directs that he should be buried in Oswestry Church, 'in the chapel of our Blessed Lady, over against the picture of Saint Margaret the virgin'; and again, in 1541, Robert ap Howell leaves a lode of lead towards 'covering of the roof of the altars of the Rood and S. Katharine, within the parish church of Oswestry, when the roofs be ready built to receive the covering'; and also directs that his body be buried 'in our Lady's chappell', the same chapel to which allusion is made in the Yale Monument, where it is described as the chancel of St. Mary. Was this the present north chancel-aisle, according to the tradition mentioned to Mr. Salwey by Mr. Bentley, then clerk? No tradition exists as to the position of St. Katharine's chapel. From the last will it is clear that considerable repairs were contemplated in 1541; and one of the chalices of the church bears the date of 1575.

"There is no trace of the fires which raged in Oswestry about 1542 and 1567 having reached the church; but of course they may have done so, and have accounted for the restoration of this period; but there is reference in the Registers to the plague of 1559 and 1585. It may be well here to notice that the Registers commence with 1558; and that in 1599, in Elizabeth's reign, William Morgan, then Bishop of Llandaff, the famous translator of the Bible into Welsh, was vicar of this church; also that the advowson of Oswestry, which had passed from Shrewsbury Abbey to the Crown, was granted by James I to Francis Morris and Francis Phillips, from whom it was purchased by William Earl of Craven, and settled on his nephew, the Earl and first Marquis of Powis, thence descending to the present Earl of Powis. Pennant assumes that part of the church was destroyed about 1616, and the Yale Monument speaks of St. Mary's chancel as demolished in late wars. What this destruction was it is difficult to say; but certainly the fine specimens of debased windows in the north chancel-aisle may have been built either from 1540-70, or about this period; perhaps at the same time as the lych-gate, the date of which is 1631. One chalice was

also given in 1635; the handsomest of all in 1639. Was the old north transept window also of this period? I mean the one which existed up to a comparatively recent date. If so, it would almost appear that at this time the north transept was destroyed. Had not the Yale Monument spoken of St. Mary's chancel, it might have been concluded that the north transept was the Chapel of our Lady; and then, too, possibly in lieu of it when destroyed, the space was filled in between the south transept and tower. Traces of the arch of the north transept were found in the last work of restoration; but there was nothing to show when or how it was removed.

"Some of those who took part in what was done in 1631 must have had to bear the bitter pain of seeing the sad havoc once more made in this house of God during the troubled days of the civil war. In 1644 the Royalists, who garrisoned the town for their King, fearing lest the enemy should make use of the tower of the church to command the walls, pulled down the upper part of it (Gough says leaving the part where the bells hung; the terrier of 1685 says levelling it with the church), and also destroyed the middle part of the building, leaving the east end standing. Here the Parliamentary forces must have made their onslaught, two hundred of them fighting their way into the church, and finally gaining the tower as well. Later on the Royalists again attacked the church and took it, retiring, however, when they found that reinforcements for the garrison were at hand. How much the church must have suffered we can judge from its condition before the late restoration; for though after Humphrey Wynn, the rightful vicar, who had been deprived in 1650, that Rowland Nevett might be intruded, was restored in 1662, and in the time of his successor (Richard Edwards, 1664-1680) efforts were made to rebuild the church, and much was done,—the tower, for example, at great cost repaired, and the upper part built as it now stands, and the whole church prepared for worship,—yet the pillars of the nave were but masses of rough masonry, and the roof and arches of the meanest character possible; and this throughout the whole of the nave, aisles, and transepts, with the exception of two or three pillars at the west end. For these repairs a brief was granted in 1675, their cost being £1,500. The old font bears date 1662, and was given by Lloyd, the Governor, whose arms are on it. Over the doorway, on the outside of the tower (apparently then made), is 1692. The date on the altar at present in the Welsh church is 1672. The windows then erected seem to have been generally debased Perpendicular, of a better character than those which followed. In 1707 there was a gift of a flagon, and planting of the fine trees in the churchyard; iron gates in 1738; and in 1749 it is recorded that there was daily morning service. Then there must have been terrible churchwardens' work until in 1858-61 there was something better, the chancel being cleared of whitewash and the east window stonework renewed, the present painted glass being inserted, whilst in 1860-62 the same was also done for the windows in the chancel-aisle.

"The principal features of the work so satisfactorily done (1872-74) under the able guidance of Mr. Street, were the entire reconstruction of the interior of the body of the church, the nave being widened a third; roofs, arches, pillars, windows,—all are new, those in the north aisle being alone reproduced. The roofs of the chancel, screens, pavements, sacraia, sedilia, altar, wall-decorations,—these, too, are new, as well as the vestry and the fittings of the church throughout. The floors of the nave have been lowered and levelled, those of the chancel and aisles raised; the old tombstones, which were becoming almost illegible, having been carefully preserved in the tower. Painted glass has been placed in various windows. The re-opening of the church, after its restoration, was on October 13th, 1874, the Bishops of Rochester and St. Asaph being present.

"Stormy and troubled has been our church's history in the past. May its future be full only of peace and blessing!"

The examination of the church was then proceeded with, and various opinions expressed as to the positions of the various chapels or altars. St. Mary's Chapel stood, Mr. Spaul thought, where the chancel now is. The altar, dedicated to St. Oswald, was probably in front of the rood-screen. The north transept was dedicated to St. Michael, and the south chapel to St. John. The chapel of St. Katharine was in the south transept. There was an altar there until very recently. Within the early part of this century the arches were filled in with brickwork, and this part of the church used for Welsh service. The east window was renewed in 1861, and was an entire reproduction, with the exception of a small portion of one mullion. The arches of the chancel are of the fourteenth century. In the nave of the church, at the west end, is a small thirteenth century window. A massive round-headed doorway on the north side of the tower appears to belong to the twelfth century; but the other side of it, within the tower, is elliptical, and seems to be an Elizabethan arch. The windows of the tower were assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century. The Communion-plate in the vestry was afterwards examined. It was thought that one of the cups was not a chalice, but a hanap or secular cup, and was given to the church in the seventeenth century. Another was supposed to be Caroline. There was also a chalice of the date of 1639, and a flagon dated 1707.

After luncheon a start was made for Park Hall, a fine old mansion with black and white timbered walls and picturesque gables. The foundations of an older house, with walls 9 feet thick, were discovered during the late alterations.

Attached to the house is a small chapel, wainscoted and ceiled in oak, of Elizabethan character. This chapel is mentioned in the Parish Registers of Whittington for 1592. It is not certain that any public service was ever performed here, nor is there any record of its consecration; but the tradition is that it was consecrated by Archbishop Parker at the same time as Aston Chapel, in the same neighbourhood. Over the door is the inscription, "Petra et Ostium Christus est", thus indicating its post-Reformation date.

Whittington Castle was the next place visited ; but the rain prevented a more than cursory examination of it. The gate-house faces the road, to which is attached a flanking tower, protecting in part the gate-house platform. On the opposite side was the keep, isolated from the gate-house. This, with two platforms, completed the inner defence. Beyond these were three or four lines of banks and ditches, parallel with the line of inner defences.

The members then proceeded to the old Chapel of Halston, once a foundation of Knights Templars, who had an establishment there. It was added to the Knights Hospitallers by Fitz Allan in 1165 ; and in 1187 Roger de Powys gave an endowment to the foundation. The early foundation itself was subject to the head house or commandery there ; at first to the Knights Templars, and afterwards to the Knights Hospitallers, who had cells, or subject houses, for the protection and entertainment of travellers in North Wales. These cells were in some of the wildest parts of the mountains. They were at Dolgynwal, Tregynon, Yspsyty Ifan, Llanwddyn, and Carno, extending right across Powysland to Machynlleth. Henry VIII, at the Dissolution, granted the property of this house to John Lewster, who sold it to Alan Horde. Queen Mary granted it back again to the Prior and Brethren of St. John. Queen Elizabeth made it over to William Horne, who eventually gave it to Edmund Mytton of Habberley, in exchange for lands ; and from the Mytton family it came into the possession of Mr. Wright. It was a peculiar. The main timbers of the Chapel are of the time of Queen Mary, the windows being later insertions. On the south side hangs a funeral achievement with coat-armour ; at the west end a carved oak gallery. The remains of some old fonts lie under the tower, which is of brick. The Chapel has not been used in recent times, except for baptisms and funerals.

There was no evening meeting.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 28.

On Thursday morning the members met at the Powysland Museum, and under the guidance of the Secretary, Mr. Morris C. Jones, examined the local antiquities there.

They afterwards visited the parish church, where the Rev. J. E. Hill gave the following account of the church, and of the restoration which was carried out some years ago by Mr. Street :

"There is no trace of any Norman work in the church. Some time or other the whole body of the church, of the Decorated period, from the tower to the chancel, was removed. A singular feature of the church is that the nave is of much greater breadth than the chancel ; and the latter, instead of being in the centre, lies on the north side. The present nave may have covered ground once occupied by a nave and south aisle ; and the present south aisle, which

projects to the line of the fourteenth century porch, is a more recent addition. The roof of the porch (fourteenth century) was taken down in 1777. An Early English window in the chancel, which had to be removed for the construction of the organ-chamber, has been replaced in the north gable. The inner arch of an old doorway, of the same period, which had to be pulled down, has been replaced inside the porch. The lower arch, which with the first two storeys of the tower itself, is also of the thirteenth century, has been opened out, and the jambs repaired. The steps at the western sides shew that the floor was once at the level to which the nave has now been lowered; but on the east side there was one 9 inches below, shewing a floor with a lower level still. The base of a font, of the fourteenth century, was found underneath the one then in use, and a new one, exactly reproducing so much as was discovered of the old, was erected. The other font was buried in the churchyard. The nave of the church was rebuilt in the sixteenth century, with the addition of a north aisle; and in the eighteenth century the nave was again rebuilt, with the addition of a north aisle. The chancel roof is said, as are also fittings of other churches in this neighbourhood, to have come from Strata Marcella; but there appears nothing to confirm this tradition. A stoup was found in the Early English wall of the porch; but it was so broken up that it was found impossible to preserve it. A weathering found in the tower shewed that the eave of the roof had once been lower than the spring of the present arches."

The Communion-plate was examined in the vestry. Amongst it is a chalice made of guinea-gold, containing the measure of a wine-quart, with an inscription in Latin, indicating it to be the gift of Thomas Davies, Esq., in the year 1662, who held the office of Governor-General of the English colonies on the west coast of Africa, and who presented the chalice as an offering of gratitude for his preservation from an obnoxious climate. Another gift to the church was in reality a punch-bowl, used as an alms-basin.

A visit to Powis Castle was the next item on the day's programme, on reaching which the party were received by Mr. Newill. Amongst the curiosities shewn was a number of bronze implements in a good state of preservation. They were found, in 1862, by some drainers at work on Lord Powis' estate at Guilsfield, a little above the site of the Abbey of Strata Marcella, and about one hundred yards from a small camp. They are described in vol. x, p. 212, of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, and in the *Powisland Collections*, vol. iii. There was also a Roman *cippus* in excellent preservation. Among the historical documents were—an order of the Council of State, dated the 28th of April 1660, making null and void a previous order for the demolition of the Red or Powis Castle; an order dated the 11th of June 1649, for the demolition of Montgomery Castle, for which Richard Lord Herbert, of Chirbury, was to be compensated out of the second payment of fine imposed for his delinquencies. The order was signed by Henry Scobell, Clerk of Parliament. A

MS. dated the 7th of May 1619, containing the King's instructions to Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, on his appointment as Ambassador to the French King. The signature of James I is appended to the document. "The long gallery, built in the latter part of the sixteenth century, is not only a very fine specimen of the cinque-cento style, but is, perhaps, one of the earliest instances of its introduction into this country." The plaster-ceilings, in some of the rooms, are of the time of James II. The oldest parts of the Castle are assigned to the thirteenth century.

The members afterwards proceeded to Garth, the residence of Captain Mytton, who had invited them to luncheon. Among the many objects of interest inspected here were pedigrees of the Wynns of Garth and the Myttons of Pontyscowrhyd; a number of old MSS., etc. To a charter dated July 6th, seventh of Henry V, is appended a seal of Sir Edward de Cherleton, Lord of Powys. Another document was one bearing date 6th of July, in the seventh year of Henry V, wherein certain grants were made to Sir Gruffyth Vychan, Knight Banneret of Agincourt, and to his elder brother, Ieuan ap Gruffyth, by Edward de Charleton, fourth and last Lord of Powys of that name, for the capture of Sir John Oldecastle. A small bronze boar, which had been found near Caerfawr, was also exhibited. It has been suggested that as the 20th Roman legion, stationed at Chester, had a boar for their badge, it is not unlikely this little figure was connected with that legion.

After luncheon Guilsfield Church was visited. It consists of chancel, a nave with north and south aisles, massive, embattled tower with small spire at west end, and a fine south porch with a parvise above. There is an upper roof of seven bays, extending the whole length of the church, and an under ceiling of four bays over eastern part. The upper roof is of the early part of the fourteenth century. The chancel-ceiling is an excellent specimen of carved work of the fifteenth century. When the church was being restored, on the south side of chancel, a small two-light window of the fourteenth century was discovered. In the old roof of the south aisle may be observed some bold carving representing roses, crowned heads, and owls.

The members afterwards went to the camp at Gaervawr, a paper on which, by Professor Babington, has appeared in the Journal.

At the evening meeting Professor Babington took the chair, and after giving an account of the proceedings on Wednesday and Thursday called upon Mr. Picton to read a paper on "The System of Place-Names in Wales compared with that of England."

Papers were also read by Mr. R. Williams on "Henry III in Montgomeryshire", and by the Rev. D. R. Thomas on "Early Powys", which are printed in the present number of the Journal. Mr. R. Williams also read a paper, by Mr. E. R. Morris, on "Traces of Celtic and Saxon Occupation, as indicated by Place-Names in the Neighbourhood of Montgomery." This paper will be printed in a future number of the Journal.

A vote of thanks to the Earl of Powis, Mr. C. W. Williams Wynn, M.P., Capt. Mytton, Capt. Pryce, the Rev. E. B. Smith, and the Rev. D. P. Lewis, for their hospitality to the members, was proposed by the Chairman, and seconded by Mr. M. H. Bloxam.

The thanks of the Association were given, on the motion of the Rev. D. R. Thomas, seconded by Mr. Picton, to the Mayor and Corporation of Welshpool for the use of the Town Hall.

The Rev. Prebendary Davies proposed a vote of thanks to the Local Committee, and especially to Mr. Morris C. Jones. The Rev. E. L. Barnwell, in seconding the motion, stated with regard to the Museum, that there was nothing of the kind, so far as he knew, in any other part of Wales. A few years ago a small but interesting collection was made at Carnarvon; but he was informed that it was now dispersed, and that articles of the greatest value and interest had been distributed about the town, and no one knew what had become of them.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 29.

Owing to the rain this morning it was thought best to drive direct to Meifod instead of visiting the camp at Bwlch Aeddan, Clawdd Llesg, and Cobham's garden.

The first church at Meifod is said to have been founded by Gwyddfarch, A.D. 550, one of the descendants of the Britons who came over from Armorica. According to the Rev. D. R. Thomas three distinct churches appear to have coexisted within the limits of the churchyard of four acres, Eglwys Gwyddfarch, Eglwys Tysilio, and Eglwys Fair. Which of these last two churches is more directly represented by the present parish church is uncertain; but most probably it is that of Tysilio. The church of St. Mary, with the south chapel or chantry of slightly later date, may have been added to the Norman church of St. Tysilio, probably as a Lady Chapel. The present church is of a composite character. Portions of it, at the west end, have been assigned to the early part of the twelfth century. A Norman column of red sandstone, forming part of an arcade adjoining the present square tower, was discovered during the restoration in 1871. The Norman church then brought to light seemed to comprise nave, north and south aisles. Two arches open out between this nave and present vestry, and two on the south side have been walled up. The ruins of a transept, extending northwards, were distinctly traced out when the north aisle was added to the present church.

A great deal of discussion took place on the examination of a very ancient stone coffin-lid now standing against the west wall of the south aisle of the church, and which, according to tradition, covered the remains of one of the Princes of Powys. In *Lapidarium Walliæ* is a full description of the stone by Professor Westwood, who, from its general appearance, considers it to be much older than the twelfth century.

After leaving the church the party proceeded to Coed y Maen, the residence of the President of the Association, who had invited them to luncheon.

The first thing examined in the afternoon was a moat at the supposed site of the old Rectory. Thence the members made their way up Allt yr Ancr, or the Anchorite's Hill, upon the west side of which are traces of a British camp, and some curious, shallow excavations in the rock, conjectured to have been made for the purpose of supplying the garrison with water. The anchorite from whom the hill takes its name is imagined to be Gwyddfarch.

The scanty remains of Mathrafal, once the abode of the Princes of Powys, which were next visited, have been described by the Rev. G. Sandford in vol. 4 of *Montgomeryshire Collections*; the defences on one side being the river, on the other three sides a high rampart of earth and stone with a mound in one corner, probably a look-out or a kind of keep.

Llanfair Caereinion was the next and last place visited on Friday. The church was rebuilt in 1868, with the exception of the curious wooden steeple, characteristic of the old Montgomeryshire churches. The south door was also retained. In the church is a sepulchral recumbent effigy of a knight fully armed. The inscription, "Hic jacet Davit Ap [Mo]RYR AIV", on the belt is stated to be an unique feature.

At the evening meeting it was decided that the Meeting for 1880 be held at Pembroke.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 30.

The moated mound at Luggy was the first place at which a stop was made. Next came the Stone of St. Beuno, one side of which is deeply scored with glacial marks.

Hen Domen was next visited. It is a fine moated mound in a field on the road-side, about a mile north of Montgomery. The following is an extract from a description of the mound, written by Mr. G. T. Clark: "The mound is about 30 feet high, and 7 yards diameter on its flat top, and its sides are steep. It rises out of a circular moat about 10 yards wide. The position of the earthwork is selected with much judgment. Though very accessible as a residence, it commands an extensive view, looking towards the south and east over Montgomery and Chirbury, and to the north and west over the Roman camp marked 'Caer Flos' in the Ordnance, and a considerable range of the vale of the Severn."

The old town of Montgomery was soon afterwards reached, and the ruins of the Castle visited. Above the Castle Hill is Fridd Faldwyn, a large and fine example of a British camp. The Rev. D. R. Thomas read a paper by Mr. G. T. Clark upon the Castle of Montgomery, "Notes upon its Structure and its History." This Castle has been claimed as the birthplace of George Herbert.

The remains of the town wall were then inspected, and afterwards the members proceeded to view the church, where they were received by the Rector.

The interior of this fine church consists of a nave, two transepts, and a chancel. The chancel is separated from the church by a beautiful carved screen, said by popular tradition to have been removed from the neighbouring monastery of Chirbury. A discussion took place with reference to this screen, but no definite conclusion was arrived at. In the south transept, known as the Lymore Chapel, are three monuments; a large alabaster canopied tomb of Richard Herbert, father of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Chirbury, and of his brother George Herbert, the poet and divine. The tomb, although erected by Magdalene, the widow of Richard Herbert, contains full-length figures of both, and is surmounted by a very handsome canopy. There are also the effigies of eight children. There are two recumbent armoured figures lying side by side, close to the larger monument, both without inscription of any kind. Some discussion took place as to the date of one of these effigies. In the later effigy the head is uncovered, with long hair flowing down to the shoulders. This one Mr. Planché thinks is of the date of Henry VII, and the other about a century earlier. He says "the long hair of the later figure shews it to be of Henry VII's reign, the hair being then worn long, whereas in Henry VIII's time it was polled." A paper in the *Montgomeryshire Collections* states, and it is clear, that the earlier of the two effigies is that of an Earl of March, and that the later effigy is probably that of another Earl of March. In the same paper it is said that Mr. William Wilding of Montgomery has formed an opinion that it is that of Sir Richard Herbert, Knight, the first of that family who settled in Montgomeryshire.

On leaving the church the members went to the Dragon Hotel, where, through the hospitality of the Earl of Powis, luncheon was provided on a grand scale.

Afterwards the old house of Lymore, belonging to Lord Powis, was visited. This is a fine example of an old black and white timbered house. The mansion has three gables in front (there were formerly eight), with a wooden turret rising from the centre of the roof. The windows are square with diamond panes. The entrance to the hall is through a spacious porch, on the front of which is inscribed "E. H., 1675."

After Professor Babington had proposed a vote of thanks to the Rector of Montgomery, the members drove to the Priory Church at Chirbury. In the tower was found the following inscription relating to Sir Isaac Newton's family: "Near this place lyeth y^e body of John Newton, Esqr., who departed this life the 6th of March 1681, and who was y^e seventh generation, and lineally descended from Sir Richard Newton, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in the reign of King Henry the Sixth." In the churchyard is the base of a column which, no doubt, belonged to the old Priory. A chalice

belonging to this church bears the date of 1595, and a flagon given by Lady Herbert that of 1716.

After partaking of the Vicar's hospitality the members returned, by way of Nanteribba and Sarn-y-Brynceled, to Welshpool; and thus the Cambrian Archæological Association's Meeting of 1879 was brought to a close.

CAMBRIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

WELSHPOOL MEETING, 1879.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Subscriptions . . .	36	5 0	Carriage hire . . .	32	4 6
Single tickets . . .	1	10 0	Printing . . .	2	19 8
Admission to Meetings . . .	1	16 0	Advertising . . .	1	4 6
Carriage tickets . . .	30	12 0	Postages . . .	1	8 0
			Attendants . . .	1	18 6
			Balance . . .	30	7 10
	£70	3 0		£70	3 0

Examined and found correct.

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NOTICE.

The Editor regrets that owing to unavoidable circumstances the issue of the present number of the Journal has been so long delayed. He has great pleasure in saying that Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.P., has kindly promised a donation of five guineas towards defraying the cost of engravings illustrative of the paper on Wattlesborough Castle, which will appear in a future number of the Journal.

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1879.

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